

**STUDIES PRESENTED TO
PROFESSOR ROMAN JAKOBSON
BY HIS STUDENTS**

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PREFACE

Slavic studies have undergone an enormous expansion in America during the past two decades, and it is Roman Jakobson, more than any other person, who is responsible for this rapid growth. During the same period he has played a key role in the development of linguistics in America. It is therefore particularly appropriate that a new publisher, concentrating in Slavistics and linguistics, and founded in America by young American Slavists, should dedicate its first book to Professor Jakobson.

The high regard in which Roman Jakobson is held by the scholarly community of the world has been amply documented by To Honor Roman Jakobson, which is probably the largest and most impressive Festschrift ever published. The more modest effort presented here has been produced by his most recent students to record our appreciation of another side of Roman Jakobson's career: his teaching at Harvard and M.I.T. Many of us came to Cambridge for the opportunity to study with Professor Jakobson, and all of us will agree he has had a lasting, and often decisive, influence on our scholarly development.

Professor Jakobson's ability to see the essence of a problem, his emphasis on sound methodology and careful investigation, the remarkable breadth and depth of his knowledge, and above all, his ability to illuminate a question from various points of view have been an inspiration to us all.

Many of the papers printed here represent a first scholarly publication. Others are by people who already have a respectable bibliography of published works, but all the contributors come from the youngest generation of Professor Jakobson's students. We hope that he will be pleased with this evidence of the results of his labors at Harvard and M.I.T. over the past decade. Since some of the people represented are still graduate students, the institutional affiliation given in the title of each article is for reference purposes, and does not necessarily indicate faculty membership at the institution named.

Certain papers (including my own) could not be placed in this volume because they were not ready by the printer's deadline. They will appear elsewhere with appropriate dedications.

It is a pleasure to thank Mary Newman for the original drawing which is the frontispiece of this book. Despite the high degree of technical difficulty presented by many of the papers, Deborah Gordon has done an unusually good job of preparing the photo-offset masters. She has also silently corrected a number of misprints and mistakes which were in the manuscripts given to her. Without such an excellent assistant, my job would have been much more difficult, and I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Gordon. For reading many of the papers submitted, and for making valuable suggestions in many cases, I am grateful to the following people: Henning Andersen, James Bailey, Wayles Browne, Alexander Lipson, Robert Rothstein, Sylvia Szulkin, and, above all, Robert Szulkin, who has been of great help throughout this project. The blame for any misjudgement rests with me, of course, since I have made the final decision in each case.

Cambridge, Mass.
April, 1968

Charles E. Gribble

EXCURSUS ON THE THEME IN RUSSIAN
ORAL EPIC SONG

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The phenomenon of language patterns and the relative simplicity of structural types has been emphasized repeatedly by modern linguists.¹ In folklore as well as language the schematic and recurrent character of patterns presents a challenge. One of the more stimulating studies of this patterning phenomenon in oral epic song is Albert Lord's investigation of the compositional techniques of poets in the Homeric and Southslavic traditions.² Lord's investigation is an elaboration of a theory which centers around the idea that a poet in an oral epic tradition uses a special technique of composition for the telling of his tales because he composes these tales in performance.³ By studying the living oral tradition in Yugoslavia it was concluded that a singer of epic song, rather than memorizing texts, learned a formulaic method of composing metrical lines, assimilated a supply of themes and story patterns, and with the aid of these techniques recomposed with each performance a song that already existed in multi-form in the tradition in which the singer lived. It is these conclusions in part that have prompted a further investigation of some of the distinctive features of composition of Russian oral epic song, the bylina.⁴

If a formulaic method allows a singer of oral epic song to compose lines rapidly in performance, then the special skill that allows this same singer to compose themes, and hence the story itself, rests primarily upon what has been termed "the thematic technique of oral story making in verse."⁵ In order to understand better the way in which a singer of Russian oral traditional song composes his byliny, I shall attempt to determine some of the features of this thematic technique by a brief description of the form and function of a small number of themes in the repertory of Trofim Grigor'evič Rjabinin.⁶ This accomplished, unlettered singer, who was born around 1790 and died in 1885, was from the Lake Onega region of northeastern Russia. Rjabinin's byliny were first collected between 1860 and 1862 by P. N. Rybnikov, and again in 1871 by A. F. Hilferding, who recorded many of these songs for a second time.⁷

A theme is an integral part of the song in which it occurs, but it is discrete in the sense that it can be isolated from the narrative fabric if it is encountered in other songs as well.⁸ Such a theme is that of the council, which can assume many forms in the songs of a singer. Several clear patterns emerge in Rjabinin's repertory. The most frequently recurring one, which centers around a task, can be designated as Type I. Councils of this type share the following common units, which have been described by words that in essence are synopses of them:

1. assembly
2. task
3. compliance
4. departure

Central to a theme of this type is an initial episode, a request for someone to perform a task, which in turn provokes a response, namely the volunteering of a hero in compliance with the request, thus initiating the subsequent action of the song. Rjabinin's song "Dunaj," which opens with such a theme, can serve as a typical example. The council (H 81:1-141; cf. R 9:1-

105) begins with an introductory description of an assembly, which in this instance is a feast. The description includes the convoking by prince Vladimir, a catalog of the invited guests, and an account of the drunken and merry behavior of everyone present. This introduction is followed by a definition of the task, which begins with the news that prince Vladimir, the head of the assembly, needs a wife. When Vladimir asks for recommendations a general silence persists until an elder of the assembly, Permin Ivanovič, recommends Opraksija, daughter of the Lithuanian king, mentioning at the same time that the king has a second daughter, Nastas'ja, who is an amazon. This leads to the request by prince Vladimir for someone to be matchmaker for him:

"Oh, my princes and boyars,
Strong and mighty Russian warriors,
And glorious, bold amazons!
Whom can I send
To the Lithuanian king
To be matchmaker for me, prince Vladimir,
And the beautiful princess Opraksija?"

(lines 55-61)

And silence again falls over the assembly. Compliance with Vladimir's request begins when Permin Ivanovič, the elder, breaks the silence and proposes Dunaj:

"Prince Vladimir of the royal city of Kiev!
Allow me, sire, to say a word.
I know whom to send
To the Lithuanian king
To be matchmaker for you, prince Vladimir,
And the beautiful princess Opraksija:
Send quiet Dunajuška Ivanovič.
Quiet Dunaj has traveled to many lands,
Quiet Dunaj speaks with an eloquent tongue,
Dunajuška should be sent as matchmaker
To the Lithuanian king
For you, prince Vladimir,
And the beautiful princess Opraksija."

(lines 67-80)

Compliance with Vladimir's request for someone to serve as matchmaker reaches an end when Dunaj is formally charged with the execution of the task, and after a companion and servant also are charged to accompany him. The three leave the assembly. The council theme gives way to the next large narrative unit, the journey.

In Rjabinin's repertory there are eight additional byliny that contain recognizable council themes of Type I, and the tasks proposed are as varied as the songs in which they occur: to deliver overdue tribute ("Dobrynja and Vasilij Kazimirov," H 80: 1-137; cf. R 8: 1-121), to rescue a maiden held captive by a dragon (Dobrynja and the dragon," H 79: 211-291), to deliver an invitation for a feast to a hero previously slighted ("Il'ja Muromec's quarrel with Vladimir," H 76: 1-77), to fight an amazon who is threatening a city ("Il'ja Muromec and his daughter," H 77: 1-104; cf. R 5: 1-94), to drive the enemy out of a city ("Skopin," H 88: 1-15; cf. R 20: 1-17), to seek a wife in a faraway land ("Ivan Godinovič," H 83: 1-33; cf. R 10: 1-26), to fight an enemy who has come seeking an opponent ("Il'ja Muromec and Idolišče," R 6: 1-25), to defend a city from attack by foreign troops ("Il'ja Muromec and Kalin the tsar," H 75: 1-152). And in spite of the fact that these council themes are expressed differently, their structures are similar. They are all related through certain common components which, from Rjabinin's point of view, might be termed essential to the theme. As assembly is described in detail, including such particulars as where it takes place, who is there, how those in attendance conduct themselves, or only a vestige of an assembly is present. We are also told of the hero's departure from the assembly. This information serves as a frame for the request for someone to perform a task and the response complying with this request. Not only are the tasks themselves varied, but also the episodes and descriptions that enter into the make-up of what has been designated the task. The thematic content can expand to include background information explaining why a council was necessary, silence from those assembled in response to a request, proposal of other tasks which are never carried out within the framework of the song, or the request for someone to perform a task can be expressed in just a few lines. In a like manner the compliance can include elaboration of the formal charging, not only of the hero but of a companion and servant as well, or the compliance too can be contracted to just a few lines.

In Rjabinin's repertory there is also another kind of frequently occurring council, which centers around a boast. The common components of councils of this type are:

1. assembly
2. boast
3. insult
4. departure

Central to this kind of council, henceforth designated as Type II, is an initial episode, a boast, which occasions a response that insults the boaster, leading to the succeeding events of the story. Such a theme appears in "Dunaj" (H 81: 332-372; cf. R 9: 229-249), after Dunaj has returned with a bride for both himself and prince Vladimir and the wedding has taken place. This is the second council of this song, one that generates a second story pattern. The introductory description of the assembly includes the convoking, a listing of the members present, and an elaborate account of their eating, drinking, and boasting. This description comes to an end when Dunaj steps forward and boasts before the assembly:

"There is no hero in all of Kiev better than I!
No one dared go as matchmaker
For famous prince Vladimir
And the princess Opraksija.
I myself got married and was responsible for the
marriage of others,
I myself am a warrior and a bold hero,
And I am good at shooting with a taut bow!"
(lines 352-358)

And Nastas'ja, Dunaj's amazon bride, immediately challenges his
boast with an insult:

"Light of my life, my beloved mate,
Quiet Dunajuška Ivanovič!
In no way am I your inferior:
My strength is greater than yours,
And my manner is bolder than yours.
(lines 360-364)

Because of her challenge, Dunaj and Nastas'ja leave the assembly
to engage in a shooting contest, which results in Nastas'ja's
death and Dunaj's suicide.

In Rjabinin's repertory there are three additional byliny
that contain identifiable council themes of Type II, and each
boast concerns something different: forthcoming marriage to a
fair maiden ("Xoten Bludovič," H 84: 1-42; cf. R 15: 1-43),
desire to kill a wife ("Samson the warrior," R 1: 69-96), the
fact that a certain hero has nothing to brag about ("Staver,"
R 14: 1-42). Not only does the second type of council theme
function the same as the first by providing motivation for a
story, but the basic structure is also similar. Once again,
each council is expressed differently, but each is related to
the other through certain components or necessary parts. We are
told through an introductory description where the assembly
takes place, who is there, and on occasion how those present
behave. And we are also informed that the hero leaves the
assembly. This information likewise serves as the frame within
which the boast and insult are set. These varied boasts and
insults can reach a high degree of elaboration or the dimensions
can be reduced to a bare statement of fact.

But councils are not the only themes at Rjabinin's disposal
for setting a story in motion. Within his repertory there is
also a major narrative unit involving a conversation between a
young hero and his mother. Rjabinin's song "Djuk" begins in
this manner (H 85: 1-40; cf. R 16: 1-16). After an introductory
description of the young hero, consisting of a few biographical
details, Djuk's excursion is outlined:

The young boyar, Djuk Stepanovič, made ready
To set out for holy mother Russia

For he wanted to gaze upon the city of royal Kiev,
For he wanted to gaze upon glorious prince
 Vladimir,
And the beautiful princess Opraksija,
For he wanted to gaze upon the strong and mighty
 Russian warriors,
And all the glorious and bold amazons.

(lines 5-11)

And Djuk's mother makes a direct response to these plans with an interdiction, which is immediately followed by the young hero's departure:

"Young boyar, Djuk Stepanovič!
Even though you are preparing to go to holy Russia,
Because you want to gaze upon holy Russia,
Because you want to gaze upon prince Vladimir,
Upon that dear one, the beautiful princess,
Upon the strong and mighty warriors,
And upon all the glorious and bold amazons,
You will never reach holy Russia,
You will never see royal Kiev,
Because on the way to the glorious city of Kiev
There are three great obstacles:
The first obstacle is the snapping dragons,
The second obstacle devouring beasts,
The third obstacle clashing mountains."
The young boyar, Djuk Stepanovič,
Didn't obey his mother.
He saddled his heroic steed.
And as Djuk was setting out for the city of royal
 Kiev
His mother said to him:
"Oh, light of my life, my beloved child,
When you are in holy mother Russia,
When you are in the city of Kiev,
When you are at prince Vladimir's
And you feel like getting drunk on green wine,
Don't boast of your possessions
Against those of the mighty Russian warriors."

(lines 13-39)

Conversations between the hero and his mother occur frequently

in the songs of Rjabinin. When the theme is, in fact, the first major one of the song, one that centers around an excursion, as in "Djuk," the following pattern emerges:

1. biography
2. excursion
3. interdiction
4. departure

A theme of this type focuses on an initial episode, a statement of the young hero's desire to make an excursion, which provokes an interdiction. This leads to the subsequent adventures of the young hero. The other songs that open in this manner clearly exhibit the same pattern. They are "Dobrynja and the dragon" (H 79: 1-48) and "Dobrynja and Marinka" (H 78: 1-21). In both instances a short biography of Dobrynja is given by way of introduction, followed by a statement of Dobrynja riding out on the open plain to trample little dragons or of his plans to walk the wide and regal streets of Kiev, which in turn is followed by his mother's interdiction against doing certain things. Dobrynja then takes his leave and the journey begins. This structure is similar to that found in all of Rjabinin's council themes, which function the same as these conversation themes. Within the framework of the description of the feast or hero and the hero's departure there is the nucleus of an episode that provokes a response, setting a story in motion.

But the conversation theme is by no means limited in its function. There also occurs a conversation between an unhappy hero and his mother that results in the young hero obtaining a blessing or advice. This subsidiary cluster, which I consider to be part of the larger theme of the journey, immediately follows the council and directly precedes the departure of the hero on his quest. "Dobrynja and Vasilij Kazimirov" can be used to illustrate this recurring complex, which begins when Dobrynja arrives home from the feast in an unhappy frame of mind (H 80: 152-315; cf. R 8: 133-262). Dobrynja's mother immediately inquires about the source of her son's sadness:

"Oh, light of my life, my beloved child!
You have come from the feast, but why are you
unhappy?
Were you not given a place at the feast befitting
your rank?
Or did they slight you at the feast when the cup
was passed around?
Or did a drunken fool mock you?"

(lines 156-160)

And her questioning arouses a response from the hero who explains that his sadness is a result of being volunteered for a quest:

"Oh, light of my life, my mother!
I was given a place at the feast befitting my
rank,
And I wasn't slighted when they passed the cup
around,

And a drunken fool did not mock me.
 Prince Vladimir of royal Kiev
 Has charged me with a great task,
 A great task that is by no means an insignificant
 one!
 To deliver tribute due for twelve years,
 For twelve years and a half,
 To that dark horde
 In the faraway Saracen lands."

(lines 162-172)

When the explanation draws to an end Dobrynja departs with his mother's blessing. Two other songs by Rjabinin contain a conversation between an unhappy hero and his mother. In each instance this conversation occurs after the council, before the actual journey begins. They are "Dobrynja and the dragon" (79: 289-355) and "Xoten Bludovič" (84: 43-112; cf. 15: 44-104), in which someone is sad because he has been volunteered for a quest or insulted. In "Xoten Bludovič" there is a reversal of roles. It is the mother who arrives home from the assembly, unhappy because someone has insulted her son. A conversation between the mother and son then takes place, but it is the son who makes the journey initiated by the insult. Thus when the conversation is a cluster subsidiary to the larger theme of the journey the following pattern occurs:

1. arrival
2. sadness
3. explanation
4. departure

It is significant that all these conversations have a similar structure, whether they function as the major themes that generate a story or as thematic clusters subsidiary to the larger theme of the journey. And it is equally significant that a similar structure has been found in the council themes. On the basis of an examination of these few major themes and subsidiary clusters it seems that there are certain conclusions to be drawn concerning the process of making themes, especially if we turn our attention to the way in which the themes of a singer relate to one another. In each instance a description of an assembly or hero introduces a binary group: task→compliance, boast→insult, excursion→interdiction, sadness→explanation, which concludes when the hero takes his leave. The persistence of a thematic pattern in oral traditional song, regardless of function or content, suggests the conservative nature of a singer's themes, as well as the significance of thematic structure to oral traditional composition. It might be both useful and appropriate to describe these themes of council and conversation as belonging to a "system," a term that Milman Parry used when studying the traditional epithets of Homer,⁹ a concept that is concerned with the singer's habit of reducing his manner of expression to the simplest of patterns.

Footnotes

1. Roman Jakobson, Selected Writings, IV: Epic Studies, (The Hague and Paris), pp. 90-91.
2. Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). See also the following studies on the folktale in particular: А. Никифоров, "К вопросу о морфологическом изучении народной сказки," Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии Наук, CI (1928), 173-177; V. Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, trans. Laurence Scott, Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, No. 10 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1958); Alan Dundes, The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 195 (Helsinki, 1964); and Elli Kõngäs and Pierre Maranda, "Structural Models in Folklore," Midwest Folklore, XII (1963), 133-192.
3. Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I: Homer and Homeric Style," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XLI (1930), 73-147.
4. See my article "Formulaic Style and the Russian Bylina," Indiana Slavic Studies, IV (1967), 7-51.
5. Albert B. Lord, "Homer and Other Epic Poetry," in A Companion to Homer, ed. by Alan J. B. Wace and Frank H. Stubbings, (London, 1962), p. 188.
6. See Wilfred Chettéoui, Un Rapsode Russe: Rjabinin le Père (Paris, 1942).
7. П.Н. Рыбников, Песни, собранные П.Н. Рыбниковым, 2nd ed. (Москва, 1909), I, 3-141; & А.Ф. Гильфердинг, Онежские былины, 4th ed. (Москва и Ленинград, 1950), II, 1-166. Rjabinin sang for Rybnikov 24 byliny or fragments, comprising around 4,750 lines. For Hilferding Rjabinin sang 18 byliny, comprising some 5,500 lines in all. Fourteen of these 18 byliny had been sung for Rybnikov a decade earlier. Throughout this study, wherever expedient, the texts from these collections have been designated first by the letter H (= Hilferding) or R (= Rybnikov), followed by the song number and the lines referenced: e.g., H 80: 736-739, R 8: 1-5. This study is based primarily on the Hilferding collection, except in those instances in which a bylina was available only in the Rybnikov recording.
8. For the immediate purpose of this paper I shall designate as themes the recurrent major narrative units such as a council, a journey, etc. There is no reason to deny subjectivity in determining the dimensions of themes and their constituent parts. I have let the content of those byliny under discussion dictate my decisions regarding what units seemed distinguishable as recurrent features or episodes.
9. See Milman Parry, L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère (Paris, 1928), and "Studies in the Epic Technique," p. 145. Parry's concept of "systems," with its stress on the fact that only a group of formulas with each singer is fixed, relates to the singer's habit of reducing his manner of expression to the simplest patterns by means of analogy, by altering one formula in use to obtain a new one.

THE BASIC STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RUSSIAN LITERARY METERS

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I. Introduction

Two fundamental laws of Russian prosody determine most of the structural features of classical meters and *dol'niki*. The first, regressive accentual dissimilation, results from the tendency of Russian verse to avoid strongly stressed contiguous ictuses. This phenomenon, however, is strongest at the end of the line where the last ictus is always a constant and the next-to-last ictus is the weakest in the line. The dissimilation of contiguous ictuses (or alternation of strongly fulfilled and weakly fulfilled ictuses) regresses from the end of the line forward in a wave-like fashion to the beginning of the line where it is weakest.¹ The second, the law of the beginning of the line, arises from the tendency of Russian verse to avoid strong stressing of the first syllable of the line.²

The history and evolution of Russian classical meters since their introduction in the first part of the eighteenth century and of *dol'niki* since the beginning of the twentieth century are largely a reflection of the action of regressive accentual dissimilation and the law of the beginning of the line. However, conformity and conflict with these two prosodic principles have produced structural variants in most meters. These alternate forms may be caused by several factors, for example, the clash of these two laws, the influence of foreign or native folklore versification, or the restrictive effect of the caesura on longer lines. In some cases they may be associated with a particular poetic tradition or special stylistic features.

Renewed interest in the study of Russian versification since the end of the last decade has resulted in the discovery of hitherto unknown structural variants in some classical meters and it has considerably expanded understanding of other meters, in particular of *dol'niki*. This article, drawing upon past investigations of eighteenth and nineteenth century verse and upon more recent examinations of twentieth century verse, will attempt to summarize the characteristics of the variants so far found in the classical meters and *dol'niki*.³ Where possible it also will indicate the relative frequency and historical periods for each type. Examples will be quoted chiefly from the poetry of the twentieth century.

II. Iambic Meters

1. Iambic trimeter. The one form of this meter has a bipartite structure with strongly stressed first and third ictuses, and a weakly stressed second ictus. It consequently is in agreement with regressive accentual dissimilation. The bipartite structure (or contrast between the stronger and weaker ictuses) was strongest in the first part of the nineteenth century when binary meters tended to develop a sharper accentual dissimilation. This trend is reflected in Batjuškov's verse from 1811 to 1812 in which the first and third ictuses are constants, that is, they are stressed in all or nearly all lines, and the second ictus is stressed in only 40% of the lines. Earlier in the eighteenth and later in the nineteenth century the bipartite structure was

weaker. At all times, however, this meter has conformed to the law of regressive accentual dissimilation.⁴

Ictus	I	II	III
Batjuškov	98.5	40.0	100
(1811-1812)			

The basic rhythmical drive⁵ of the iambic trimeter is strongly evident in Voznesenskij's poem "Грузинские дороги" (Пишется как любитcя). In the first two stanzas quoted below the first ictus is stressed six times in eight lines, the second twice, and the third eight times. In the poem as a whole the first ictus is not a constant but it nevertheless remains strong, the second ictus is weakly stressed, and the last ictus is a constant.⁶

Вознесенский.

Вас за плечй держали
 Ручищи Эполетов.
 Вы рвались й дерзали,
 Гусары й поэты!

И уносились ментики
 Меж склонов-черепах,
 И полковые медики
 Копались в черепах.

(1960)

Ictus	I	II	III
Times stressed	25	7	28
Percentage	(89.3)	(25.0)	(100)

2. Iambic tetrameter. The iambic tetrameter has two traditional variants: an eighteenth century type with stronger first and fourth ictuses, and a nineteenth century type with stronger second and fourth ictuses. The eighteenth century verse, which does not conform to the law of regressive accentual dissimilation, originally resulted from imitation of the German iambic tetrameter. The nineteenth century form, which has a bipartite structure and consequently adheres to this law, gradually developed in the first decades of the last century. This change in rhythmical structure also led to parallel stylistic and intonational modifications in the line.⁷ Even though the bipartite structure has been predominant since its development in Puškin's time, the eighteenth century structure nevertheless has remained an alternate form which has been revived by some poets in the twentieth century. In the course of the nineteenth century the bipartite structure was intensified and the second ictus in the verse of many poets became a constant.⁸

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Eighteenth century	93.2	79.7	53.2	100
Nineteenth century	82.1	96.8	34.6	100

The characteristics of the two traditional variants of this meter appear in poems by present day poets. Brodskij's lyric, "Приходит время сожалений,"⁹ has the rising opening of the nineteenth century verse in which the logical emphasis of the line tends to coincide with the strongly stressed second and fourth ictuses. Voznesenskij's poem "Живет у нас сосед Букашкин" (Антимиры), on the contrary, often has the falling opening of the rhetorical eighteenth century rhythm in which the first and fourth ictuses usually bear the semantic weight of the line.

Бродский. Приходит время сожалений.
 При полусвете фонарей,
 при полумраке озарений
 не узнавать учителей.
 Так что-то движется меж нами,
 живет, живет, отговарив
 И, побеждая временами,
 зовет любовников своих.
 (1961)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	19	27	5	28
Percentage	(67.8)	(96.4)	(17.9)	(100)

Вознесенский Да здравствуют Антимиры!
 Фантасты—посреди мур.
 Вез глупых не было бы умных,
 Оазисов—без Наракумов...
 Люблю я критиков моих.
 На шее одного из них,
 Благоуханна и гола,
 Сияет антиголовал..
 (1961)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	40	36	13	46
Percentage	(87.0)	(78.3)	(28.3)	(100)

Belyj in some of his poetry from 1904 to 1909 deliberately developed a new rhythmical structure which differs from that of both traditional variants of this meter. In his verse the first and fourth ictuses are strongly stressed as in the eighteenth century variant, but the second ictus rather than the third is the weakest in the line. The reversal of the strengths of the second and third ictuses abruptly disrupts the expected intonational and rhythmical drive of this meter.¹⁰

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Belyj (1904-1909)	86.9	43.3	67.7	100

Although Belyj's experimental iambic tetrameter influenced the verse of Xodasevič and perhaps Cvetaeva, according to Gasparov's analysis of binary meters in Soviet poetry it has not become a common form. It probably has remained a variant which poets occasionally may utilize for semantic or stylistic reasons. A recent example of this is Brodskij's "Садовник в ватнике, как дрозд" (1964). Cvetaeva in the first poem of her cycle "заводские"¹¹ uses this structure although in her verse the first ictus is much stronger and the third ictus is somewhat weaker than they are in Belyj's verse. In the excerpt from Cvetaeva's poem below the first and third lines exhibit the pure rhythmical drive of Belyj's variant of this meter.

Цветаева В надышанную сырость чайной
 Картуз засаленный бредет.
 Последняя труба окраины
 О праведности вопиет.

(1922)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	31	13	17	32
Percentage	(96.9)	(40.6)	(53.1)	(100)

3. Iambic pentameter. This iambic meter has four possible variants: 1) tripartite structure with caesura before the fifth syllable, 2) tripartite structure without caesura, 3) French structure with caesura, and 4) French structure without caesura. In the tripartite form the first, third, and fifth ictuses are stronger, but in the French form, which initially was patterned after the structure of the French decasyllable, the second, fifth, and usually the third ictuses are stronger. The tripartite type with its alternating strong and weak ictuses reflects the law of regressive accentual dissimilation while the French type does not. In the tripartite form variations in the strength of the strong ictuses occur in lyric, epic, and dramatic verse. Both types of structure quoted below are with caesura.¹²

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V
Tripartite structure 19th century	86.0	75.2	95.3	39.3	100
French structure Vjazemskij (1821-25)	80.5	92.0	88.1	58.6	100

The iambic pentameter was not used widely until the first part of the nineteenth century. The dominant tripartite form has been employed both with caesura and without caesura, but in the latter it appeared mainly in dramatic blank verse from 1830 to 1860 under the influence of the English and German pentameters. In the nineteenth century poets such as Vjazemskij and A.K. Tolstoj utilized the minor French form in some of their poetry,

but always with caesura. In the twentieth century Gippius, Kuzmin, Mandel'shtam, and Sajanov have extensively used the French structure without caesura. However, the tripartite structure appears to have continued to be predominant in the twentieth century.¹³ Some present day poets, for example, Brodskij, Tarkovskij, and Vinokurov, seem to have a greater predilection for the iambic pentameter than the iambic tetrameter which usually is the favorite meter of Russian poets.

Blok from 1898 to 1903 used the French form, but later from 1907 to 1913 when he resumed writing this meter he turned to the dominant tripartite form. This change may have been due to the influence of the rhythm of the longer lyrical narratives in the cycle Вольные мысли written in 1907.¹⁴ The first excerpt below from his poem "В северном море" has the tripartite structure with more strongly stressed first, third, and fifth ictuses.¹⁵ The second excerpt from his lyric "На ржавых петлях открываю ставни" has the French structure with more strongly stressed second and fifth ictuses. Both poems are without caesura.

Блок. Чтб́ сде́лалъ из бе́регá морско́го
 Гуля́ющие мо́дницы́ и ф́ранты?
 На́ставилъ сто́лов, ды́мят, жу́ют,
 Пь́ют лимона́д. По́том бре́дут по пля́жу,
 Угрю́мо хо́хоча́ и за́ражая́
 Соле́ный во́здух спле́тня́й. По́том...

(1907)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V
Times stressed	57	38	56	27	67
Percentage	(85.1)	(56.7)	(83.6)	(40.3)	(100)

Блок. Я бо́дрствую́, заду́мчивый ме́чтатель:
 у изго́ловья́, в тайно́й во́рожа́е,
 Твои́ че́рты, фи́лософ и ва́ятель,
 Изобра́жу и пе́редам те́бе.

(1902)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V
Times stressed	10	15	12	10	16
Percentage	(62.5)	(93.8)	(75.0)	(62.5)	(100)

4. Iambic hexameter. The hexameter line has had a latent tendency to develop a tripartite structure in accordance with regressive accentual dissimilation in which the even ictuses would be stronger and the odd ictuses weaker. Because of the caesura before the seventh syllable this meter has resisted the spread of accentual dissimilation throughout the line and this resistance has led to the formation of two other more common structural variants. In the symmetrical hexameter the hemistichs act as two independent lines of iambic trimeter and the line as a whole has stronger first, third, fourth and sixth ictuses.

However, while the sixth ictus is a constant, the third ictus (at the end of the first hemistich) is not. In the asymmetrical hexameter the effect of regressive accentual dissimilation has partially spread from the second hemistich past the caesura into the first hemistich. As a result the hemistichs have different structures and the full line has stronger first, fourth, and sixth ictuses.¹⁶ To date only Mandel'stam from 1915 to 1920¹⁷ and Gippius in two poems¹⁸ appear to have realized the possibility of this iambic meter to develop a tripartite structure in which regressive accentual dissimilation acts on the entire line.

	Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Symmetrical hexa. 19th century	90.7	64.7	75.5	94.1	39.8	100	
Asymmetrical hexa. 19th century	89.6	70.3	64.1	95.0	38.1	100	
Tripartite hexa. Mandel'stam (1915-20)	69.2	95.0	26.7	95.0	20.8	100	

The dominant symmetrical form, which for the most part displays the initial influence of the French alexandrine, was mainly used in the eighteenth century and after 1840. It also seems to be the most prevalent form in the twentieth century. The minor asymmetrical form slowly developed in the first decades of the nineteenth century under the common tendency of the poets of that time to adapt binary meters to the law of regressive accentual dissimilation. The tripartite form is rare.

The poem "О только бы привстать" (Земле-земное) by A. Tarkovskij is an example of the symmetrical iambic hexameter with strong first, third, fourth, and sixth ictuses, and a constant caesura before the seventh syllable. Lines one, three, and eight have the pure rhythmical drive of this variant.

Тарковский. О, то́лько бы́ привста́ть, | опомни́ться, очну́ться
 И в са́мый тру́дный ча́с | благо́словить тру́ды,
 Вспои́вшие лу́га, | вскорми́вшие са́ды,
 В по́следний ра́з глотну́ть | из вы́гнуто́го блю́дца
 Ли́ста ворси́стого | хруста́льный мо́зг во́ды.

 Да́й ка́плю мне́ одну́, | моя́ тра́ва земна́я,
 Да́й кля́тву мне́--вза́мен | при́нять в насле́дство ре́чь,
 Го́ртанью ра́зрасти́сь | и кро́ви не́ бере́чь,
 Не по́мнить обо́ мне | и, мо́й сло́варь лома́я,
 Сво́й пе́ресо́хший ро́т | мо́им огне́м обжа́чь.
 (1965)

	Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Times stressed	9	6	9	9	6	10	
Percentage	(90)	(60)	(90)	(90)	(60)	(100)	

Matveeva in one poem, "Мы только женщины..." (Душа вещей), uses the structure of the asymmetrical hexameter with its stronger first, fourth, and sixth ictuses, and constant caesura. In another poem, "Фантазия" from the same collection, she utilizes the rare tripartite form of this meter with strong second, fourth, and sixth ictuses. Since a word boundary falls before the seventh syllable in only ten of the sixteen lines, this poem is without caesura, a consequence of regressive accentual dissimilation acting on the whole line as it does in the trochaic hexameter without caesura.

Матвеева. "Вино и женщины"? | —Последуем отсель!
 О женщина, возьми | поваренную книжку,
 Скажи: "Люблю тебя, | как ягодный кисель,
 Как рыблю голову! | Как заячью лодыжку!"
 (1965)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Times stressed	11	10	9	12	4	14
Percentage	(78.6)	(71.4)	(64.3)	(85.7)	(28.6)	(100)

Матвеева. Простоволосая, растрепанная, бредит
 Пустыня древняя—и ждет себе грозы;
 Ей нагадали, будто кто-то к ней придет,
 Суровых кактусов крестовые тузы.
 (1964)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Times stressed	11	16	8	15	6	16
Percentage	(68.8)	(100)	(50)	(93.8)	(37.5)	(100)

III. Trochaic Meters

For what may be a number of reasons Russian verse tends to avoid strong stressing of the first syllable in the line, a phenomenon which is termed the law of the beginning of the line!¹⁹ In iambic meters this causes no difficulty because the first ictus coincides with the second syllable of the line and it therefore may be strongly stressed. In trochaic meters, however, the first syllable is also the first ictus and in accordance with this law it should be weakly stressed. In three and five-foot trochaic lines the law of the beginning of the line conflicts with the law of regressive accentual dissimilation which requires that the odd ictuses, including the first ictus, be strongly stressed. The way this conflict is resolved governs the structure of these two trochaic meters. In four and six-foot trochaic lines these two prosodic principles may harmonize.

In literary verse in iambic and trochaic meters non-metrical stresses, that is, stresses which do not correspond to an ictus, fall only on one-syllable words, mostly at the anacrusis in iambs or after a strong pause within the line.²⁰ This characteristic of Russian binary meters led Jakobson to formulate the law that,

"If in a speech unit two contiguous syllables are contrasted as one more and the other less prominent, these two syllables cannot carry the up-beat and the down-beat respectively."²¹ However, in folklore stylizations in trochaic meters non-metrical stresses may fall on multi-syllable words as well as one-syllable words. In the case of multi-syllable words this amounts to the shifting of a metrical stress from the arsis to the thesis,²² a phenomenon which only experimentally occurs in iambic meters. This difference in Russian binary meters is marked in Kol'cov's iambic and trochaic trimeters.²³ All of the non-metrical stresses in the iambic trimeter fall on one-syllable words, mainly in the anacrusis, but in the trochaic trimeter most of the non-metrical stresses on the second syllable appear in multi-syllable words (18.1%).

Iambic trimeter.

Ictus	I		II		III	
Syllable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Percentage	13.7	94.7	1.1	56.8	.1	100
One-syllable words	13.7		1.1		.1	

Trochaic trimeter.

Ictus	I		II		III	
Syllable	1	2	3	4	5	
Percentage	38.3	21.8	65.8	11.0	100	
One-syllable words		3.7		7.9		
Multi-syllable words		18.1		3.1		

In Kol'cov's poem "Размышления поселянина," which is written in trochaic trimeter, the first stress has been shifted to the second syllable of the line when the first and second ictuses are omitted nineteen times in fifty-three lines. The resulting form with a non-metrical stress on the second syllable ($\overset{\circ}{x} \overset{\circ}{x} \overset{\circ}{x} x \overset{\circ}{x}$) is the same as amphibrach dimeter ($x \overset{\circ}{x} x x \overset{\circ}{x}$) and because of its high frequency (35.8%) the poem could be interpreted as having a rhythmical oscillation between trochaic trimeter and amphibrach dimeter. The shifting of the first ictus to the second syllable in this trochaic meter is due partially to rhythmical stylization after folklore verse where such shifting is a common occurrence. Even more important is the fact that this also reflects the action of the law of the beginning of the line since in this way strong stressing of the first syllable is avoided. In the first twelve lines of this poem quoted below the first ictus is shifted to the second syllable four times (actually five if the phrase "пять лет" is included).

Нольцов.	На восьмой десяток	Как одну я лямку
	Пять лет перегнулось;	Тяну без подмоги!
	Как одну я песню,	Ровесникам детки
	Песню молодую	Давно помогают,
	Пою, запеваю	Только мне на свете
	Старую погудкой;	Перемены нету.
		(1832)

Ictus	I		II		III
Syllable	1	2	3	4	5
Times stressed	19	26	29	11	53
Percentage	(35.8)	(49.1)	(54.7)	(20.8)	(100)

Differences in the opening of the line and in the possible shifting of ictuses in trochaic meters patterned after folklore versification reveal basic structural distinctions which exist between iambic and trochaic meters. This is probably why Russian binary meters are only experimentally mixed in literary verse.²⁴ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in binary meters the observance of Jakobson's law in literary versification was almost complete.²⁵ In the twentieth century poetic practice in regard to this law appears to be somewhat more lax, but usually only with weakly stressed words which tend to become proclitic.

1. Trochaic trimeter. The clash of the two main principles of Russian prosody, that is, of the law of regressive accentual dissimilation and the law of the beginning of the line, has led to the formation of two kinds of structure in this meter. The first type, like the iambic trimeter, has a bipartite structure with stronger first and third ictuses, and a weaker second ictus. The second type more weakly stresses both the first and second ictuses, and it strongly stresses only the third ictus. The first type reflects the effect of regressive accentual dissimilation while the second is caused by the law of the beginning of the line.²⁶ Kol'cov, who popularized this relatively uncommon meter in the 1830's, contrasts these two structural forms in his думы and his songs, both romances and folklore stylizations. The думы have a bipartite structure and the songs have the other structure. Both groups of poems have the same stressing for multi-syllable words on the second syllable (18.1%).²⁷

Ictus	I		II		III
Syllable stressed	1	2	3	4	5
Думы	60.6	25.5	42.6	6.4	100
Songs	38.3	21.8	65.8	11.0	100

	Second syllable		Fourth syllable	
	Думы	Songs	Думы	Songs
One-syllable words	7.4	3.7	6.4	7.9
Multi-syllable words	18.1	18.1	-	3.1

Kol'cov's дума "Неразгаданная истина" has the bipartite structure of this trochaic meter. In the first three stanzas given below the first ictus is stressed ten times, the second only four times, and the third ictus is a constant. The poem "Размышления поселянина" quoted above is an example of the other type of rhythmical structure.

Кольцов.	Цѣлѣй вѣк ѡ рылся	Чудеса земные
	В таинствах вселенной,	Опытѡм измерил.
	До седин учился	
	Мудрости священной.	Мелкие причины
		Тѣшилсь людьми;
	Все века бывые	Карлы-властелины
	С новым поверил;	Двигали мирами.
		(1836)

Ictus	I	II	III
Times stressed	24	13	36
Percentage	(66.7)	(36.1)	(100)

2. Trochaic tetrameter. Since its inception in literary verse in the eighteenth century this meter has had one form with a bipartite structure having strong even ictuses and weak odd ictuses. It therefore corresponds to both basic laws of Russian prosody. The bipartite structure was weaker in the eighteenth century than it was later in the nineteenth century when the second ictus tended to become a constant and the first and third ictuses were weakened. In the twentieth century the basic structure of this meter appears to have remained the same.²⁸

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
18th century	63.3	89.5	54.8	100
19th century	54.3	98.8	46.4	100

The first stanza of Esenin's poem "Не вернусь я в отчий дом" exhibits this meter's rising anapestic opening with its weakly stressed first ictus and strongly stressed second ictus. Even when the first ictus is stressed in this trochaic verse, it usually involves weakly stressed words so that the anapestic opening in actuality is even stronger. In Esenin's poem the second and fourth ictuses are constants.

Есенин.	Не вернусь я в отчий дом,
	Вечно странствующий странник.

Об ушедшем над прудом
Пусть тоскует конопляник.
(1925)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	11	24	13	24
Percentage	(45.8)	(100)	(54.2)	(100)

Cvetaeva in her poem "Попытка ревности,"²⁹ instead of using the regular bipartite form of this meter, resorts to a structure like that of the eighteenth century iambic tetrameter with stronger first and fourth ictuses, and weaker second and third ictuses. Since she was a rhythmical innovator, this unique variant of the trochaic tetrameter probably is a reflection of her general penchant for experimentation. The rhythm of this poem may have been affected by the eighteenth century structure of some of her poems in iambic tetrameter. Many of the stresses on the first syllable of this poem nevertheless fall on weakly stressed one-syllable words.

Цветаева. Судорог да перебоев—
Хватит! Дом себе найму"!
Как живется вам с любовью—
Избранному моему!
(1924)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	44	30	26	48
Percentage	(91.7)	(62.5)	(54.2)	(100)

3. Trochaic pentameter. This meter, which was popularized by Lermontov and which became widely used only in the twentieth century, has the same two possible types of rhythmical structure as the iambic pentameter and it either has a movable caesura before the fourth and fifth syllables or it is without caesura. In the dominant form the collision of the laws of the beginning of the line and of regressive accentual dissimilation produces a rhythmical structure similar to that of the minor French form of the iambic pentameter, that is, it strongly stresses the second, third, and fifth ictuses. The minor form with a tripartite structure, which has strong odd ictuses and weak even ictuses and adheres to regressive accentual dissimilation like the dominant form of the iambic pentameter, is one of the rarest variants of all the Russian classical meters.³⁰ Only a few isolated poems with this structure have been found in the poetry of Gippius, Bal'mont, and Akmatova.³¹ The extreme rarity of these poems underlines their experimental nature and points out the dominating effect the law of the beginning of the line exercises on this trochaic meter.³²

Despite the small number of lines Gippius wrote in this meter, both types of structure distinctly emerge in her verse. Both are without caesura. Her poem "Заклинанье"³³ in the first

excerpt quoted below has this meter's usual rising anapestic opening which also is found in the trochaic tetrameter. Three of the lines have the pure form of this dominant variant. Her poem "А потом..." in the second excerpt, on the other hand, has the falling opening of the tripartite structure. All the lines but the fourth have the pure rhythmical movement of this rare variant.

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	No. of lines
Regular structure	(54.2)	(90.4)	(88.0)	(49.4)	(100)	83
Tripartite structure	(88.9)	(64.4)	(77.8)	(55.6)	(100)	45

Гиппиус. Рáзломись Оно́, прокля́тьем це́льное!
 Рáзлетайся, туча́ исступле́нная!
 Бейся́ се́рдце, ка́ждое́,—отде́льное,
 Во́скресай, ду́ша освобожде́нная!
 (1905)

Гиппиус. А́нгелы́ со мно́й не го́ворят.
 Лю́бят о́сиянные́ селе́нья,
 Кро́тость лю́бят и печа́ть смире́нья.
 Я же не́ смире́нен и не́ свят:
 А́нгелы́ со мно́й не го́ворят.
 (1911)

4. Trochaic hexameter. This trochaic meter, like the iambic hexameter, has three possible kinds of structure: a symmetrical type with caesura before the seventh syllable, an asymmetrical type with caesura, and a tripartite type without caesura. In the symmetrical hexameter, as in the symmetrical iambic hexameter, each hemistich has its own independent bipartite structure with stronger first and third, and weaker second ictuses. In the asymmetrical hexameter the first hemistich has more weakly stressed first and second ictuses and a constant third ictus, while the second hemistich has a bipartite structure as in the symmetrical form. The first hemistichs of these two types of hexameter directly correspond to the two types of rhythmical structure found in the trochaic trimeter. In the hexameter without caesura regressive accentual dissimilation acts throughout the line and a tripartite structure has developed with constant even ictuses and weak odd ictuses.³⁴

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Times stressed	18	31	10	30	9	31
Percentage	(58.1)	(100)	(32.3)	(96.8)	(29.0)	(100)

IV. Ternary Meters

Ternary meters (dactylic, amphibrach, and anapest) rarely omit ictuses and because of their regularity or lack of tension between rhythm and meter they often are considered to be monotonous rhythmically in comparison with binary meters. Only the first ictus in dactylic lines is frequently omitted,³⁵ a feature which reflects the law of the beginning of the line since the first ictus is also the first syllable of the line. Because these meters have an identical structure, that is, they constantly have two-syllable intervals between regularly fulfilled ictuses, they may be mixed, or in other words the anacrusis may vary. Whether the anacrusis is a syllabic constant or variable the internal organization of these meters is not disrupted. Trochaic and iambic meters, except in experiments in the twentieth century, are not mixed because they have basic structural differences.³⁶ Gumilëv's poem "Молитва"³⁷ is an example of free (вольные) ternary meters. The anacrusis is zero in three lines, one syllable in two, and two syllables in one, and the lines have from two to four feet. None of these characteristics affects the two-syllable constant between ictuses. Belyj in particular liked to use this free form of ternary meters.

Гумилев. Солнце свирепое, солнце грозящее,
Бога, в пространствах идущего,
Лицо сумасшедшее,

Солнце, сожги настоящее
Во имя грядущего,
Но помилуй прошедшее!

Ternary meters were introduced into Russian verse in the eighteenth century along with binary meters, but only around the end of that century with interest in the romantic ballad did they find much application. Their usage gradually increased during the nineteenth century until the end of the century when they were extensively applied by the symbolists. However, with some exceptions Russian poets have not used them as widely as binary meters. In the twentieth century poets may be taking greater liberties with these meters by occasionally omitting ictuses and syllables. In Pasternak's poem "Иней" ("Глухая пора листопада") in amphibrach trimeter the first ictus is omitted once and the second ictus six times in thirty-six lines. In Voznesenskij's "Болезнь баллада" (Ахиллесово сердце) in dactylic tetrameter the first ictus is unfulfilled in ten lines and the third in eight lines.

Пастернак. Всё обледелено с размаху
В папах до самых бровей

И крадущейся росомашой
Подсматривает с ветвей.
(1941)

Ictus	I	II	III
Times stressed	35	30	36
Percentage	(97.2)	(83.3)	(100)

Вознесенский. Больная баллада. (1964)

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	29	39	31	39
Percentage	(74.4)	(100)	(79.5)	(100)

The omissions are not frequent, but they also are not sporadic since these three and four-stress lines tend, if only in embryo, to develop a bipartite structure. The law of regressive accentual dissimilation to a small degree therefore also acts in ternary meters. In both poems when the next-to-last ictus is omitted one syllable also is dropped in most of the lines (twelve of fourteen) so that they have a four-syllable interval instead of the expected five-syllable interval which appears in the other two lines. The same four-syllable interval usually appears also in dol'niki when an inner ictus is omitted, a feature which shows the close relationship in Russian between ternary meters and dol'niki. This freer practice of ternary meters in the twentieth century may be due to the influence of the structure of dol'niki.

V. Dol'niki

While binary meters have a constant one-syllable interval between ictuses and ternary meters have a constant two-syllable interval, dol'niki have either one or two-syllable intervals between ictuses. However, two-syllable intervals tend to predominate over one-syllable intervals, a characteristic which reveals that most Russian dol'niki have a ternary rather than a binary basis. Like trochaic and iambic meters, dol'niki omit ictuses and develop an interaction between rhythm and the meter it generates. Dol'niki also are subject to the laws of the beginning of the line and regressive accentual dissimilation.

Historically dol'niki have existed in Russian literary verse along side classical meters since the eighteenth century when classical meters were introduced. Lomonosov in his Письмо о правилах российского стихотворства (written in 1739) gave an example of four-stress dol'niki in his poem "На восходе солнца как зардится" which evidently is a translation from German. Trediakovskij's heroic hexameter, which he first employed in his Тилемахида (1766) and which Gnedić and Žukovskij later used in their translations of the Homeric poems, is actually six-stress dol'niki. In the nineteenth century dol'niki appeared mainly in translations from German poetry in imitation of the meter of the original.³⁸ Dol'niki became an acceptable form of Russian versification only after Blok popularized them in the first years of the twentieth century. His dol'niki, however,

only rarely omit ictuses and for this reason they do not conform to the law of regressive accentual dissimilation. Through persistent experimentation with the various rhythmical possibilities of this meter the poets by about 1930, as Gasparov has shown in his comprehensive examination of three-stress dol'niki from 1890 to 1960,³⁹ finally made dol'niki a truly Russian meter in accordance with the basic laws of Russian prosody.

1. Three-stress dol'niki. After the features of this meter are clearly established, the anacrusis tends to have two syllables although it may be shorter or vary, the first and third ictuses are constants, and the second ictus is fulfilled on an average in 75% of the lines. Three-stress dol'niki therefore usually not only avoid strong stressing of the first syllable of the line, but like iambic trimeter they also have a bipartite structure in agreement with regressive accentual dissimilation.

In the epilogue to Voznesenskij's ode to Lenin "Лонжюмо" (Антимиры)⁴⁰ the anacrusis has two syllables in all lines, the first and third ictuses are constants, and the second ictus is stressed in only about half the lines. In all cases when the second ictus is omitted a four-syllable interval results. Since all lines but two have eight syllables, this poem has a tendency toward isosyllabism, that is, excluding the clausula all lines have the same number of syllables. In the first two stanzas quoted below the second ictus is omitted in six lines and the first syllable of the line, as is ordinary for ternary meters as well as dol'niki, six times receives a non-metrical stress.

Вознесенский В жизни всяко происходи́ло.
 Но око́шками́ зажже́но,
 как туманна́я Атланти́да,
 где-то свети́тся Лонжюмо́.

 Та́м он шко́ле чита́ет ле́кции.
 Называ́ет их имена́.
 В те́мной ко́мнатке лица́ свети́тся,
 как прозра́чные се́мена.
 (1962-1963)

Ictus	I	II	III
Times stressed	51	28	51
Percentage	(100)	(54.9)	(100)

2. Four-stress dol'niki. The four-stress line of this meter has not been analyzed as extensively as the three-stress line and for this reason its historical development and precise features are not fully known. Nevertheless, from analysis of Axmatova's early narrative poem У самого моря⁴¹ it appears that four-stress dol'niki also are subject to the two basic laws of Russian prosody. Her poem has a clear but not strongly formed bipartite structure in which the second and fourth ictuses are constants, and the first and third ictuses are occasionally omitted. Accentual dissimilation is present, but it is not re-

gressive since the first ictus is weaker than the third ictus.

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Percentage	81.5	100	89.9	100

Ахматова. В ко́мнате те́мной бы́ло ти́хо.
 И на́д ла́мпадкой сто́ял вы́сокий,
 Узкий ма́линовый о́гонечек.
 "Не́ приходи́л за то́бой ца́ревич",—
 Ле́на сказа́ла, ша́ги услы́шав:
 "Я про́ждала его́ до ве́черни
 И посылала де́тей на приста́нь".
 (1914)

The weaker first ictus probably is caused by the action of the law of the beginning of the line. Since most of the lines have a zero anacrusis, the first ictus usually coincides with the first syllable of the line and it consequently should be weakly stressed. Because the anacrusis in three-stress dol'niki tends to have two syllables, the constant first ictus usually falls on the third syllable of the line and it therefore does not conflict with this law.

Even though it is probable that the bipartite structure of Axmatova's poem in four-stress dol'niki will prove to be typical for this meter, the possibility of a variant with a rhythmical structure similar to that of the eighteenth century iambic tetrameter should not be excluded. E. Vinokurov in his poem "С трудом дотянувший до подбородка" (*Музыка*) uses this type of structure in which the first and fourth ictuses are constants, and the second and third ictuses are somewhat weaker.

Ictus	I	II	III	IV
Times stressed	24	22	17	24
Percentage	(100)	(91.7)	(70.8)	(100)

While Axmatova's poem tends to have a zero anacrusis and sometimes omits the first ictus, Vinokurov's lyric mostly has a one-syllable anacrusis and has a constant first ictus. In his verse no conflict arises between the constant first ictus and the law of the beginning of the line because the first ictus usually falls on the second syllable of the line. In order to emphasize the first and fourth ictuses Vinokurov utilizes inversions and complex syntax in the same way that poets did in the eighteenth century iambic tetrameter.

VI. Conclusion

The gradual evolution of Russian literary meters for over two hundred years demonstrates that versification is not static, but that on the contrary it is a vital, active, and creative process which changes and varies together with poetic schools, styles, and poets. The acute hearing and rhythmical perception of the poets has led them constantly to explore seemingly hidden

and previously untouched structural aspects of the classical meters. Over a large period of time they have developed a repertory of variants which shows that these meters have far more rhythmical variety than a mere listing of their names will indicate. But the variants of each meter, regardless of how numerous they may be, are always subject to the basic laws of Russian prosody. This is the reason why some variants become dominant and the others remain minor or rare.

On the one hand the efforts of the poets in the twentieth century to expand this basic repertory with, for instance, the tripartite iambic hexameter and adaptation of ternary meters to regressive accentual dissimilation reveal that the development of classical meters has not stagnated or ossified. On the other hand the new usage of the trochaic hexameter without caesura by Evtušenko and of the eighteenth century iambic tetrameter by Voznesenskij in some of his verse demonstrates how older, even archaic, forms are sometimes revived. From the examples of twentieth century poetry quoted here it is apparent that the poets are not only continuing or returning to older traditional structural forms, but that they at the same time also are experimenting with heretofore unrealized rhythmical features and resources of the classical meters. Only detailed analysis will reveal the precise trends and developments which are taking place in the versification of recent Russian poets.

Footnotes

1. Kiril Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, I - II (Belgrade, 1953), 333-351; Taranovski, "The Identity of the Prosodic Bases of Russian Folk and Literary Verse," For Roman Jakobson (The Hague, 1953), 553-558.
2. Roman Jakobson, "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature," Harvard Slavic Studies, I (1953), 25; Jakobson, review of Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, Slavic Word, vol. 11, No. 4 (December, 1955), 644-647; Тарановский, "Основные задачи статистического изучения славянского стиха," Poetics, II (The Hague-Warsaw, 1966), 173-196. The existence of these two phenomena in several genres of folk poetry, the short and long lines of the northern lamentations and the epic verse, demonstrates that they are inherent features of the prosody of the Russian language and not just an attribute of Russian learned verse. See Jakobson, "Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics," Oxford Slavonic Papers, III (1952), 39-40; Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 279-281, 356, and 369; Тарановский, "О взаимоотношении стихотворного ритма и тематики," American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists, I, Linguistic Contributions (The Hague, 1963), 287-322.
3. For works on eighteenth and nineteenth century verse see A. Астахова, "Из истории и ритмики хорея," Поэтика, I (Ленинград, 1926), 54-66; C.L. Drage, "Trochaic Meters in Early Russian Syllabo-Tonic Poetry," The Slavonic and East European Review, XXXVIII, No. 91 (June, 1960), 361-379; Drage, "The Rhythmical Development of the Trochaic

Tetrameter in Early Russian Syllabo-Tonic Poetry," The Slavonic and East European Review, XXXIX, No. 93 (June, 1961), 346-368; Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi; Борис Томашевский, О стихе (Ленинград, 1929). For studies of twentieth century verse see М. Л. Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей советских поэтов и проблема эволюции русского стиха," Вопросы языкознания (3, 1967), 59-67; Гаспаров, "Статистическое обследование русского трёхударного дольника," Теория вероятностей и её применения, том VIII, выпуск I (1963), 102-108; А. Н. Колмогоров, "К изучению ритмики Маяковского," Вопросы языкознания, 4 (1963), 64-71; А. Н. Колмогоров, А. В. Прохоров, "О дольнике современной русской поэзии," Вопросы языкознания, 6 (1963), 84-95 and 1 (1964), 75-94; Aleksander Kondratow, "Czterostopowy jamb N. Zabołockiego i niektóre zagadnienia statystyki wiersza," Poetyka i matymatyka (Warszawa, 1965), 97-111; Тарановский, "Четырёхстопный ямб Андрея Белого," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, X (1966), 127-147; Тарановский, "Стихосложение Осипа Мандельштама (с 1908 по 1925 год)," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, V (1962), 97-123; Taranovski, "Ruski četvorostopni jamb u prvim dvema decenijama XX veka," Južnoslovenski filolog, XXI (1955-56), 15-44. Taranovski gives a summary of works on Russian versification since 1940 in his article "Metrics," Current Trends in Linguistics, I, Soviet and East European Linguistics (The Hague, 1963), 192-201.

4. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 92-98 and Tabela V. With the exception of Kol'cov's verse the information for Russian poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been cited from this basic work by Taranovski. Unless specifically noted all other analysis including that of the poems quoted in the text is the author's.
5. Taranovski has now rejected Tomaševskij's long accepted term "rhythmical inertia" in favor of the terms "rhythmical structure" and "rhythmical drive" because "...the rhythm of verse is always active," "Основные задачи...", 185-186. His change of terminology will be applied here.
6. The following symbols will be used to indicate the rhythm of a poem: ' = stressed ictus, ° = unstressed ictus, · = non-metrical stress, and | = caesura. Percentages for stressing of poems with a small number of lines will be given in parenthesis to show their low validity. For the sake of convenience the titles of recent volumes of Russian poetry will be indicated only in the text.
7. An illuminating discussion of these changes appears in Тарановский, "Основные задачи...", 182-183.
8. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 66-92 and Tabela II - III; Taranovski, "Ruski četvorostopni jamb...;" Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей советских поэтов..."

9. Иосиф Бродский, Стихотворения и поэмы (Washington, 1965), 51-52.
10. Тарановский, "Четырёхстопный ямб Андрея Белого," 136. During this period Belyj also used the variants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The third variant which is cited here differs thematically from the rest of his iambic tetrameter.
11. Марина Цветаева, Избранные произведения, (Москва-Ленинград, 1965), 209-210.
12. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 146-273 and Tabela IX - XII.
13. Тарановский, "Стихосложение Осипа Мандельштама...", 102-104; Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей советских поэтов..."
14. The two periods of Blok's iambic pentameter have the following distribution of stressing:

	Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V	No. of lines
1898-1903	82.2	88.7	93.3	44.7	100	450	
1907-1913	87.1	68.2	88.7	46.4	100	575	
15. Lines 12, 28, 33, and 58 have six stresses and are excluded.
16. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 98-146 and Tabela VI; Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей советских поэтов..."
17. Тарановский, "Стихосложение Осипа Мандельштама...", 105-109.
18. Gippius' two tripartite poems are "Лестница" and "Нет," З. Н. Гиппиус, Собрание стихов 1889-1903 (Москва, 1904), 59-60 and 161-162. Baženov earlier used the tripartite form in his translation of Aristophanes' play The Frogs (Лягушки). In this case, however, he was attempting to imitate the rhythmical structure of the original. See Гаспаров, "Античный триметр и русский ямб," Вопросы античной литературы и классической филологии (Москва, 1966), 393-410.
19. The most recent explanation for the existence of this phenomenon appears in Тарановский, "Основные задачи...", 184, where it is defined as "...the stabilization of the first strong ictus after the first up beat in a line." In this way it is shown to be applicable to both iambic and trochaic meters.
20. Томашевский, О стихе, 122-131 and 188-193; Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 13-31. The term anacrusis refers to the syllables preceding the first ictus of the line whether it is stressed or not by the rhythm. Usually the anacrusis in Russian verse has from zero to two syllables and only rarely three syllables.

21. Jakobson, review of Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi.
22. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 13-34 and 298-302.
23. The iambic trimeter poems are: "Плач" (1829), "Ничто на свете" (1829), "Песня" - "На что ты, сердце нежное" (1830), and "Из Горация" (1841). For the trochaic trimeter poems see the songs in footnote No. 25.
24. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries iambic and trochaic meters were not mixed by the poets who seemed to sense essential structural differences in the rhythm of these two binary meters. In the twentieth century, however, poets began mixing these meters. Xlebnikov in particular liked to fuse iambic and trochaic lines or, in other words, to vary the anacrusis in binary meters. Whether this subsequently has become widely accepted by Russian poets or represents a passing aspect of the experimentation of the early twentieth century requires further study. See Kondratow, "Czterostopowy jamb...", numerous comments about Xlebnikov's mixed meters by Vladimir Markov, The Longer Poems of Velimir Xlebnikov (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), and Гаспаров, "Вольный хорей и вольный ямб Маяковского," Вопросы языкознания (3, 1963), 76-88.
25. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 16-17. Numerous scholars have pointed out the sole violation of Jakobson's law in Puškin's iambic verse, "Я предлагаю выпить в его память" from Пир во время чумы, line 21.
26. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 298-304.
27. Думы: "Великая тайна," "Неразгаданная истина," and "Поэт." Songs: Совет старца," "Песня пахаря," "Горькая доля," "Первая песня Лихача Кудрявича," "Вторая песня Лихача Кудрявича," "В поле ветер веет," "В непогоду ветер," "Сельская песня," "Без ума, без разума," "Повесть моей жизни," and "Размышления поселянина."
28. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 47-66 and Tabela I; Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей..."
29. Цветаева, Избранные произведения, 262-263.
30. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 273-298 and Tabela XIV; Taranovski, "The Identity...;" Гаспаров, "Ямб и хорей..."
31. Н. Д. Бальмонт, "Фра Анджелико," Будем как солнце, Собрание лирики, V (Москва, 1918), 234; Гиппиус, "А потом...?", Стихи дневник 1911-1921 (Berlin, 1922), 9; Анна Ахматова, "Закат" ("Да, такого неба не бывало," 1943), Сочинения, I (Munich, 1965), 260. Taranovski also notes an example of the ternary structure in a folk song stylization by N.M. Ibragimov, "Во поле берёзонька стояла" (1815). See Taranovski, "О взаимоотношении...", 293.

32. This same kind of structure appears in the bylina "Путешествие Вавилы со скоморохами."

Ictus	I	II	III	IV	V
Percentage	39.2	100	82.5	23.5	100

Jakobson, "Studies...", 39-40; Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 279-281; Taranovski, "The Identity...", 554.

33. Э. Н. Гиппиус, Собрание стихов, Книга вторая 1903-1909 (Москва, 1910), 95.
34. Taranovski, Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, 304-333 and Tabela XV.
35. Ibid., 4-7.
36. Томашевский, Стих и язык (Москва-Ленинград, 1959), 59-60.
37. Н. Гумилёв, Собрание сочинений, I (Washington, 1962), 133.
38. В. Жирмунский, Введение в метрику (Ленинград, 1925), 212-218.
39. Гаспаров, "Статистическое обследование..."
40. The last twelve lines are excluded since they are in amphibrachs.
41. Анна Ахматова, Сочинения, (Munich, 1965), 341-349. Of the 280 lines in this poem one line (280) is two-stress dol'niki, fifty-two (26-36, 49-83, 156, 173-174, and 278) are three-stress dol'niki, and the rest (227 lines) are four-stress dol'niki.

PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF APHASIC SPEECH¹

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A linguistic theory is an empirical assumption concerning the characterization and organization of language. Conditions which determine the adequacy of a theory demand that the description be insightful, economic, finite, and exhaustive. The linguistic divisions must be natural in the sense that they reflect linguistic reality and are not ad hoc artifacts postulated by the theorist. In the pathology of language, aphasia, certain aspects of the linguistic code break down according to specifiable linguistic parameters. For this reason, the study of aphasia may give insights into the structure of these parameters and their subsequent organization into the unity-language and may also serve as a means of testing and subsequently validating or invalidating theoretical assumptions.

Phonology is one significant form of linguistic breakdown found in aphasia. Aphasiologists have noted that in certain aphasic syndromes, patients commonly make phonemic errors. For example, one patient substituted /r/ for /l/ by saying /roz/ for /loz/ 'laws'. A. R. Luria (1966) and K. Goldstein (1948), among others, also noted that these literal paraphasias are made between 'similar' phonemes, i.e. phonemes which differ by one parameter: voiced-voiceless /d/-/t/; stop-continuant /p/-/f/. These errors may occur in spontaneous speech, repetition, or oral reading.

Studies which deal exclusively with phonological breakdown have been limited to the syndrome of motor (Broca's) aphasia. Although literal paraphasias have been noted in other aphasic types, no systematic analysis of these errors has been attempted. It is the object of this study to compare the clinical results of a patient with conduction aphasia to those discussed by T. Alajouanine, et. al. in the work Le Syndrome de la Désintégration Phonétique dans l'Aphasie. It is necessary to ascertain the exact nature of these phonemic errors, determine the relationship, if any, between these aphasic types, and consider the implications for phonological theory and speech pathology.

The syndrome described by Alajouanine is characterized by slow, slurred speech, frequent phonemic errors, distorted intonation pattern, and often difficulty in initiating speech. Comprehension is usually intact or mildly impaired while errors in repetition are of approximately the same magnitude as spontaneous speech. The brain damage resulting in this syndrome was localized in the anterior (frontal) section of the speech area. Words repeated by the patients were recorded on the Rousselot cylinders and the errors were subsequently analyzed in detail.

The most striking feature noted by Alajouanine was the homogeneity and remarkable constancy of errors made. Difficulty in transition from one phoneme to another resulted in numerous cases of assimilation: /koměse/ 'commencé' → /koměke/, simplification: /blā/ 'blanc' → /bā/, metathesis, and elisions. The most common types of substitutions were Constrictive → Occlusive: /sō/ 'sont' → /tō/, Consonant_{voiced} → Consonant_{voiceless}: /roz/ 'rose' → /ros/, Consonant_{back} → Consonant_{front}: /košō/ 'cochon' → /tošō/, \tilde{V} → V: /bō/ 'bon' → /bo/. A small number of principles were postulated to account for these errors: 1. paralytic - characterized by articulatory weakness, 2. dystonic - excessive

articulatory movements in force and duration, 3. apraxic - gross difficulties in forming correct articulatory movements to command and some difficulty upon imitation.

Alajouanine emphasized that these errors did not form rules of phonological change but rather demonstrated tendencies. Hence, it is not possible to predict when an error will be made. Rather, if an error occurs, it will fall within certain specifiable limits. Moreover, sound changes are not consistently unidirectional, i.e. although there are statistical trends in one direction, a sound change may occur in the other direction, e.g., fricative → stop, stop → fricative. This implies then a confusion of phonemic oppositions rather than a loss of phonemic types.

A comparison of these results will be made with the phonemic errors of a patient with conduction aphasia. The patient studied was a 41 year old tax lawyer who had had a cerebral thrombosis April 27, 1967. The Aphasia Research Unit of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Boston, evaluated his case and concluded that he demonstrated the typical clinical picture of a conduction aphasic. Patients with this syndrome commonly have good to excellent comprehension, poor repetition in relation to comprehension facility, and some naming difficulties. Unlike anterior aphasics, spontaneous speech is fluent although interspersed with phonemic substitutions. Intonation pattern and motor coordination are within normal limits. The brain damage resulting in this syndrome is localized in the arcuate fasciculus.² This band of commissural fibers is considered to be the bridge between Wernicke's (posterior) and Broca's (anterior) area.

Interviews with the patient were conducted once a week for four successive weeks. A follow-up interview was held three weeks after discharge from the hospital. Questions asked dealt with his illness, his stay in the hospital, his work, and his views on some of the books he had recently read. Each interview was taped and was of approximately eight minutes duration.

The patient's errors were then transcribed and analyzed in detail. It was necessary to limit the use of phonemic errors to cases where the target words were clearly understood. For example, in a sentence such as 'I saw a /kael/', /kael/ could be interpreted as a literal paraphasia for 'cat', 'cow', or even 'cap'. It is impossible to determine the target word on the basis of the context. These types of examples were eliminated from the sample to prevent any subjective decisions which could ultimately modify the final results.

Analysis of the results indicated that the phonemic errors were systematic and consistent within certain specifiable limits. Using the same basis as Alajouanine to define phonemic errors, several directions of change were observed. Firstly, simplification was by far the commonest trend. The initial clusters #C{f} were most affected, e.g. /flɔr/ 'floor' → /fɔr/, /fraens/ 'France' → /faens/. Other types of simplification included loss of final consonants and loss of syllables within the word, e.g. /mekənɪzm/ 'mechanism' → /mekɪzm/. Several examples of metathesis and contamination were also observed.

Other directions of change also paralleled Alajouanine's findings. The most common substitutions in descending order of frequency were manner, including confusions of affricate-stop, continuant-stop, and continuant-affricate, then place, voice, and finally nasality.

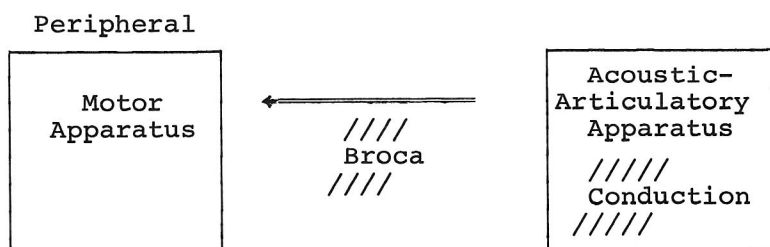
Again it is necessary to emphasize that phonemic errors were not unidirectional. This substantiates the conclusions made by Alajouanine and demonstrates that phonological disintegration is really phonemic confusion. A tentative hierarchy of directionality based on frequency of error types is seen below:

<u>Manner</u>	{Affricate Continuant}	→ Stop
<u>Place</u>	{Back Mid}	→ Front
<u>Voice</u>	Voiced	→ Voiceless
<u>Nasality</u>	Nasal	→ Stop

These results indicate that although phonemic contrasts are not lost in aphasic speech, there is a tendency for the marked consonantal features to become unmarked. This substantiates a general principle of phonology postulated by Roman Jakobson.

The striking similarity of these results to that of Alajouanine has important implications for speech pathology. The slow, slurred speech pattern of patients with Broca's aphasia has led aphasiologists to conclude that this syndrome represents a disturbance of the paths leading to the musculature. The normal functioning of the motor apparatus in eating, coughing, swallowing, etc. indicates that this disorder is not affecting the motor articulatory apparatus itself but the paths leading to it. Conduction aphasics, on the other hand, have none of the motor difficulties found in Broca's aphasia. The phonemic errors are clear-cut substitutions. No dysarthria or slurred speech is present in their speech pattern. Nevertheless, the similarity of the type of phonemic errors made implies a higher order relationship between the speech patterns of these patients.

The existence of an acoustic-articulatory mechanism in a model for speech production can account for this relationship. An example of such a model is presented below:



A disruption of the paths leading from the acoustic-articulatory apparatus to the motor apparatus will disturb the motor output of the patient's phonemes. A disturbance within the acoustic-articulatory mechanism, on the other hand, will affect the acoustic-phonetic matrix representation directly, i.e. a change in one feature will produce another phoneme within the phonemic inventory of the given language. Since the paths leading to the motor apparatus are undisturbed, the output will be clearly a phonemic substitution with no articulatory disturbance present. Although the output of these aphasic types depends upon which aspect of the speech model is disturbed, there is only one hier-

archy functioning in the speech production mechanism. This accounts for the similarity in phonological disintegration of these two aphasic syndromes.

A speech production model using acoustic-articulatory matrices as one of its major components is a hypothesis which must be empirically validated. The fact that the present hypothesis accounts for the two syndromes discussed is not sufficient proof of its efficacy. Hence, it is necessary to try to find additional evidence which may strengthen its validity. Such evidence can be found in the data collected for this study.

In any phonological framework, it is necessary to account for differences between all the phonemes of the language. Gross articulatory changes in themselves cannot characterize all of the phonemic confusions described above. For example, the confusion of p/f, t/θ, t/č, k/č were all described as a modification of 'manner'. The additional feature 'place', however, is necessary to differentiate these phonemes from the homorganic 'manner' changes, e.g. t/s vs. t/θ and t/č vs. k/č. Using an acoustic-articulatory base, all phonemic confusions can be accounted

for by one feature, e.g. $\frac{t/s}{p/f}$ [Continuant], $\frac{\theta/\check{c}}{t/\theta}$ [Compact], k/\check{c}

[strident]. Consequently, an acoustic-articulatory framework enhances the simplicity of the description--an important condition placed on the adequacy of a theory.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence for the use of distinctive features in a phonological description is based on a group of phonemic errors made by the patient studied and observed in many aphasic types. Confusions commonly occurred between laterals and nasals, liquids and semi-consonants, and laterals and resonants; for example l → n, /ɔfɪʃɪlz/ 'officials' → /ɔfɪʃɪnz/; w → r, /wayldr/ 'Wilder' → /rayldr/; l → r, /dɪlz/ 'deals' → /dɪrz/. The frequency with which these errors are made indicates that these phonemes are more closely related than present articulatory and acoustic-articulatory analyses demonstrate.

The hypothesis that this group of sounds forms a natural class would account for the high frequency of confusion within this class and the relatively few phonemic errors with consonants outside of the class. The distinctive feature 'sonorant' divides nasals, liquids (laterals and resonants) and semi-consonants from the remaining consonant inventory. This feature, then, creates a natural division of the consonant system of English and accounts for the data presented in an insightful and intuitive manner.

On the basis of the evidence presented, a phonological analysis using distinctive features seems to meet the conditions of adequacy placed on a phonological theory. The results are by no means definitive. Additional detailed analyses are planned to try to validate or, if necessary, modify the theoretical constructs hypothesized. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this study demonstrated the important relationship between aphasia and theoretical linguistics. A theory is only as good as it withstands empirical evidence. The study of aphasia offers the linguist a vast array of data which may serve as an important testing ground for theoretical linguistic assumptions.

Acknowledgements

The author is greatly indebted to the Aphasia Research Unit of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Boston, especially to Dr. B. Green for making available the tapes analyzed and Dr. F. Benson and Dr. H. Goodglass for their encouragement and advice.

Notes

1. This work was supported in part by Grant NB-07615 to Clark University and NDEA Title IV to the Linguistics Department, Harvard University.
2. N. Geschwind, "Disconnexion Syndromes in Animals and Man, Part II," Brain, vol. 88, Part III (1965), p. 629.

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FORM AND MEANING IN
SERBO-CROATIAN CONJUGATION

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In language as in literature, the form need not correspond point by point with the meaning in order for communication to be assured. But formal reflections of the patterning of content are always fascinating, and can bring us unexpected insights into the functioning of both these types of verbal activity. Roman Jakobson as literary scholar has, in a whole series of works covering the most various languages, uncovered very highly organized formal patterns in poetry accompanying the organization of the content; and, so to say as linguistic critic, has consistently pointed out the great significance for linguistics of languages' choice of phonological form for the exponents of their grammatical categories.¹

The Serbo-Croatian verbal system reveals a marked degree of patterning in the make-up of inflectional morphemes.² We examine first the present tense. The 1st and 2nd sg. person indicators, -m and -š, have one segment each, a consonant; while the 3rd person, generally considered the least marked of all verbal forms³, has no overt indicator (either in sg. or in pl.).

As Jakobson and others have pointed out⁴, the so-called 1st pl. normally indicates not a plurality of participants in the speech act (the exception being choral singing or speaking), but rather the speaker (1st sg.) plus one or more others. We may see the expression of this in the 1st pl. ending -mo, which is in form that of the 1st sg. (-m) + an additional vowel.

The 3rd person, on the other hand, has a true plural; one may perfectly well speak of a multiplicity of referents, and when saying they one does not normally mean "he (person referred to) + others". In keeping with this, Serbo-Croatian uses a different method of forming the plural here. Given that the zero person-indicator symbolizes lack of markedness, we can easily understand that it should be used in both numbers, with another device serving to mark the distinction: the replacement of one vowel ending by another, as also generally in nouns in the unmarked (nominative) case. The two main conjugations of verbs have -i-Ø sg. vs. -e-Ø pl. and -e-Ø sg. vs. -u-Ø pl., used respectively after stems in -i, -e or palatal + a and after stems of other types. In each instance, the pl. vowel has lower tonality than the sg. and the first set (whose members have higher tonality than the corresponding ones of the second) is used with the higher-tonality class of verb stems.⁵

The 2nd person pl. stands, as it were, à cheval between the 1st and the 3rd in this respect: it may indicate a plurality of addressees, analogous to the 3rd pl., or else it may group the addressee together with others, much as does the normal use of the 1st pl. In form, too, it occupies an intermediate place. While consisting of C followed by V, like the 1st pl., its indicator contains a different C (-t-) from the -š of the singular. Moreover, the vowel itself is not the same one as in the 1st pl.

We notice a correlation between the vowels and the consonants making up these endings: -m is grave, and the vowel -o added on in the pl. is likewise grave. The -š and -t- of the 2nd person are both obstruents, as opposed to the sonorant -m; further, they are acute, and the vowel -e of the pl. is also acute. It is hence redundantly not rounded, although sharing

all its other distinctive features with -o.

An irregular variant of the 1st sg. ending is -u (xoću, mogu), a grave vowel; the 2nd sg. forms of the verb "to be" (si, jesi) have -i, which is acute and hence not rounded, although it has all other features in common with -u. -i is also used in the imperative⁶ (alone, for the 2nd sg.; with -mo or -te added on, to indicate the 1st pl. --the inclusive-- or the 2nd pl., cf. above).

We will see similar relations holding in other sets of person endings. All tenses have pls. -mo, -te. Within the sg. of the synthetic past tenses, the grave consonant -x appears in the 1st person; but it is absent (in the aorist) or replaced morphophonemically with the acute -š- (before the acute -e ending in the imperfect) in the 2nd and 3rd sg. Moreover, after obstruent stems the aorist inserts a thematic vowel which is acute -e- in the 2nd and 3rd sg., but grave -o- elsewhere; the -e- brings about a further grave~acute alternation in velar stems. In the pl. of the aorist and imperfect, however, it is the 1st and 2nd persons which form a solidary group over against the 3rd pl., with their -s- before -mo and -te. The 3rd pl. aorist has -š-e, opposed to the -ø of the sg. The 3rd pl. imperfect has -u vis-à-vis the -e of the 3rd sg., just as in one of the present-tense conjugations, and the behavior of the preceding consonant (-x-u vs. -š-e) is identical with that of velar stems in the present (3rd sg. vrše, pl. vrxu).

Of the forms with nominal inflection, the nominal past tense (used with auxiliaries to make compound tenses, and exceptionally as a verbal adjective) has -l-, and the passive participle has -n-, -en-, -t- depending on the final of the verbal stem. The verbal noun has correspondingly -ń-, -eń-, -ć-, which can be analyzed as the passive participle ending + j. It will be seen that all these segments are acute, the only exception being the alternant -o of -l- found in the masc. sg. form.

Of the forms without inflection for person or number, all end in an acute obstruent followed by the acute vowel -i.

The infinitive ending is -ti; when the acute obstruent -t- must follow a verb stem in a grave obstruent, an adjustment is made. Either the acute continuant -s- is inserted (after labials, e.g. greb- grepsti), or there is assimilation with loss of the -t-: a stem-final velar becomes acute, voiceless and interrupted like -t-, thus mog- moći, vrx- vrći, but retains its compactness.

The present gerund is in -ći, and follows the stem-form seen in the present tense, with the vowel alternant of the 3rd pl.

The past gerund has the ending -vši (rarely without the -ši), with the same automatic insertion of -a- after obstruents as in the masc. sg. past nominal forms where an obstruent precedes.

The list of consonants used in the endings of Serbo-Croatian personal verb forms is very restricted: m t s š j x. Adding the non-personal forms gives us the further sonorants v⁷ n l and another palatal, ć. But all the vowels, a e i o u, are represented, with the exception of syllabic r (which is predictable on the morphophonemic level from the liquid r, likewise not occurring in our material).

Slavists will see that many of the relationships described in this paper were inherited from Common Slavic. But Serbo-

Croatian has extended them and made them more consistent, here as elsewhere systematizing disjecta membra in its heritage.⁸ Thus, consider the Common Slavic 1st sg. present endings. -q is, to be sure, grave as opposed to the acute 2nd sg. -ši, but through truncation of the theme vowel it may occasion jotovanje of the preceding consonant, which in the case of (grave) labials means inserting after them the acute segment l. -mь of the old athematic conjugation contains an acute vowel in addition to its grave m. The ending of the 1st pl., -mь (with possible doublets), has the same grave C--grave V structure as today's -mo, but it shows no such simple relationship to the sg. endings as the -m vs. -mo (|| -š vs. -te) seen in present-day Serbo-Croatian.

We must leave it to the more general linguist, with more time and more space at his disposal, to confront the phenomena of Serbo-Croatian with those of other systems and to evaluate the contribution they may make to the elaboration of a unified theory of form and meaning.

Notes

1. R. Jakobson, "The phonemic and grammatical aspects of language in their interrelations," Actes du Sixième congrès international des linguistes, Paris, 1949, pp. 5-18.
2. See Appendix for sample conjugations. In this paper the ekavski (Eastern) variant of literary Serbo-Croatian is used. Note that ċ and đ are palatal stops, affricated but contrasting with the strident č, dž; the palatal nasal usually spelled "nj" is transcribed ŋ, and the velar continuant or glide spelled "h" is here represented by x.

We here leave out of account the declensional morphemes, referring the reader to Jakobson's "Морфологические наблюдения над славянским склонением," American contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists, The Hague, 1958, pp. 127-156, for remarks on Russian and to some extent on Serbo-Croatian as well.

3. Jakobson, "Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb," Cambridge, 1957, p. 6, does not list it among the persons proper. Cf. E. Benveniste, "Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe," Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique XLIII (1946), pp. 1-12, where examples are given showing that the 3rd person, "la non-personne," is very commonly expressed by zero ending. "On voit maintenant en quoi consiste l'opposition entre les deux premières personnes du verbe et la troisième. Elles s'opposent comme les membres d'une corrélation, qui est la corrélation de personnalité: 'je-tu' possède la marque de personne; 'il' en est privé."
4. Cf. Benveniste, op. cit., p. 10: "... 'nous' est, non pas une multiplication d'objets identiques, mais une jonction entre 'je' et le 'non-je', quel que soit le contenu de ce 'non-je'."

5. This generalization might be termed the rule of tonality attraction; cf. "acuteness attraction" in Jakobson, "Russian conjugation," Word IV (1948), p. 158. "Tonality" is used here in the sense of Jakobson, Fant, and Halle, Preliminaries to speech analysis, Cambridge, 1952, paragraph 2.42, i.e. as the general term for the class of features covering grave/acute, flat (= rounded)/plain, and plain/sharp; in each pair, the second member is higher in tonality than the first.
6. Some imperatives appear to end in -j, but it can be shown that the j is part of the stem and that after a final j the true ending -i is deleted by a rule under certain conditions. The proof involves prosodic alternations which cannot be discussed in this short report. See the discussion in my forthcoming Accentuation and morphology in Serbo-Croatian (Ph. D. thesis, Department of Linguistics, M.I.T.).
7. That v functions as a sonorant in Serbo-Croatian can be seen from the fact that it neither causes nor undergoes the voicing assimilation obligatory for adjacent obstruents. Further, it has the distribution of a sonorant, never appearing word-initially before an obstruent.
8. Thus Serbo-Croatian has extended the duality enclitic vs. full to all forms of its personal pronouns capable of serving as verbal objects and to all the verbs (auxiliaries) with which other verbs enter into construction in forming compound tenses. Considering da li as the full form corresponding to the interrogative enclitic li (cf. S.-Cr. Da li da dođem?, Bulg. Da dojda li?), we may say that old enclitics without corresponding full forms (e.g. že, bo) have been eliminated as a class.

Appendix: conjugations of two sample verbs.

stem	pek-	vide-		
infinitive	peći	videti		
present	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
	1 pečem	pečemo	vidim	vidimo
	2 pečeš	pečete	vidiš	vidite
	3 peče	peku	vidi	vide
imperative				
	1	pecimo		vidimo
	2 peci	pecite	vidi	vidite
aorist				
	1 pekox	pekosmo	videx	videsmo
	2 peče	pekoste	vide	videste
	3 peče	pekoše	vide	videše
imperfect				
	1 pecijax	pecijasmox	vidax	vidasmox
	2 pecijaše	pecijaste	vidaše	vidaste
	3 pecijaše	pecijaxu	vidaše	vidaxu
or	1 pečax	pečasmo		
	2 pečaše	pečaste		
	3 pečaše	pečaxu		
nominal past				
	sg. m.	pekao (from -l)		video
	f.	pekla ...		videla ...
passive participle				
		pečen, -a ...		viden, -a ...
verbal noun				
		pečenje		videње
present gerund				
		pekući		videći
past gerund				
		pekavši		videvši

ON PASSIVIZATION IN RUSSIAN

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The understanding of the relationship between syntax and semantics, as has been pointed out by Professor Roman Jakobson, is crucial to the understanding of a linguistic system as a whole. It is with this thought in mind that the present investigation of certain aspects of the passive in Russian has been undertaken.

There are three constructions commonly used in Russian to express so-called passive ideas: reflexive verbs, active (often impersonal) constructions, and morphologically passive constructions (быть + passive participle).¹ These yield sentences of the types illustrated below:

1. Эта книга писалась Иваном. (This book was being written by Ivan.)
Он считается гением. (He is considered [to be] a genius.)
2. Америку открыл Колумб. (America was discovered by Columbus.)
Это письмо написал Иван. (This letter was written by Ivan.)
Его выбрали президентом. (He was chosen president.)
Его считают гением. (He is considered [to be] a genius.)²
3. Он был награжден президентом. (He was decorated by the president.)
Он был выбран президентом. (He was chosen president.)

These constructions are not mutually interchangeable in all contexts, cf. *Он был считан гением, *Он выбрался президентом, etc.

These facts suggest that there must be certain constraints on the use of these constructions, either in the domain of syntax, the domain of semantics, or both. The nature of these constraints is an extremely complicated subject, and this paper makes no pretense at solving the problem; it represents merely a preliminary attempt at clarifying some of the relationships which exist. Before the constraints under discussion can be classified as syntactic or semantic, the syntactic and semantic natures of the constructions themselves must be defined, and some basic notions which will be used in discussing the structure of Russian sentences must be outlined.

C.J. Fillmore, in "A Proposal Concerning English Prepositions," has suggested an extremely interesting way of looking at the structure of the English sentence and the syntactic role of prepositions.³ He questions the traditional role of the concepts "subject" and "object" in grammars and suggests that these notions may be more superficial than has been supposed, while the notion of "case" may be more basic than has been supposed. In order to make explicit the relational information that certain noun phrases are adverbials of "location," "manner," "agent,"

etc., as well as the categorial information that they are "prepositional phrases," he introduces a new way of viewing the structure of a sentence. A sentence is composed of three basic elements, "modality" (Mod), "auxiliary" (Aux), and "proposition" (Prop), as stated in the rule

$$S \rightarrow \text{Mod} \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{Prop}$$

The first of these major constituents, Mod, "consists of 'sentence adverbials', 'time adverbials', as well as interrogative and negative elements.... The category 'proposition' includes the verb and all those nominal elements which are relevant to the subclassification of verbs."⁴ A sample rule expanding Prop, illustrating the (optional) generation of the nominal elements "objective," "dative," "locative," "instrumental," and "agentive" would be

$$\text{Prop} \rightarrow V \text{ (Obj) (Dat) (Loc) (Inst) (Ag)}$$

Such other nominal elements as are found to be necessary would be included here also. These nominal elements, each of which is introduced according to its relation to the other parts of the sentence, are called by Fillmore "actants." Each actant is a "noun phrase" (NP), as is specified by the rule

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj} \\ \text{Dat} \\ \text{Loc} \\ \dots \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{NP}$$

"Major syntactic functions, therefore, are introduced categorially. These elements are distinguished from true grammatical categories, however, in that their continued expansion is unary and many-to-one."⁵ The further expansion of NP is expressed by the rule

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow P \text{ (Det) (S) N}$$

where P stands for "preposition." Fillmore continues,

Every noun phrase begins with a preposition.... The selectional constraints associated with lexical categories serving given syntactic functions will be provided by syntactic redundancy rules. Rule (18) expresses the claim that agent nouns are animate.

$$(18) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Ag} \\ +\text{N} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{Anim}]$$

Some prepositions are filled in from the lexicon. Location prepositions...are introduced in this way, with some constraints. These prepositions bring with them semantic information. Some prepositions are assigned by inherent syntactic features of specific verbs.... The remaining prepositions are filled in by rules which make use of information about the actants. Thus, e.g. the objective preposition is of if it is the only actant in a proposition or if the proposition contains instrument or agent phrases; it is with otherwise....

The subject of a sentence is selected, according to certain constraints, from among the propositional actants. A transformation places the noun-phrase selected to serve as subject to the left of the auxiliary phrase. For all sentences containing agentives, the agentive becomes the subject unless the auxiliary contains the passive element....

All prepositions are deleted in subject position....

Some verbs are marked to delete the prepositions of the actants which immediately follow them....

There are contexts in which the preposition-deletion rules do not apply, as for example when the verb is nominalized, giving us such expressions as the death of the dog and the reading of books.⁶

The application of this system to Russian produces some extremely interesting results. Let us, for the time being, assume that Fillmore's rules given above (except for the rule expanding NP) are applicable to Russian. In place of the rule expanding NP, we might have

NP → C (Det) (S) N

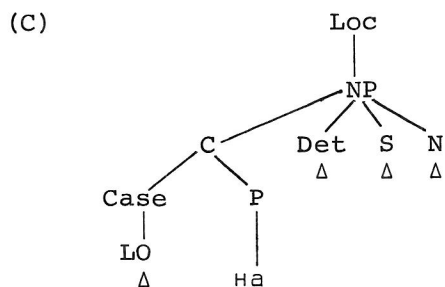
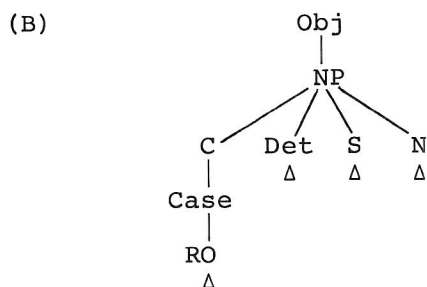
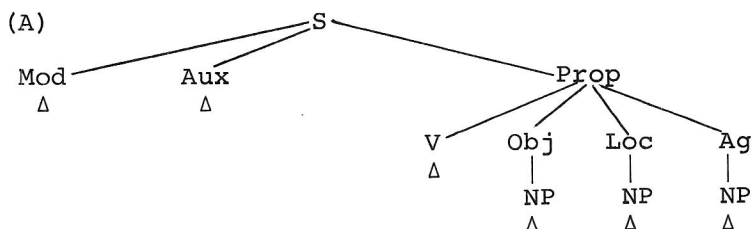
reflecting the statement "Every noun phrase begins with a case element." The element C may then be expanded into a case marker (Case) or a case marker and a preposition,

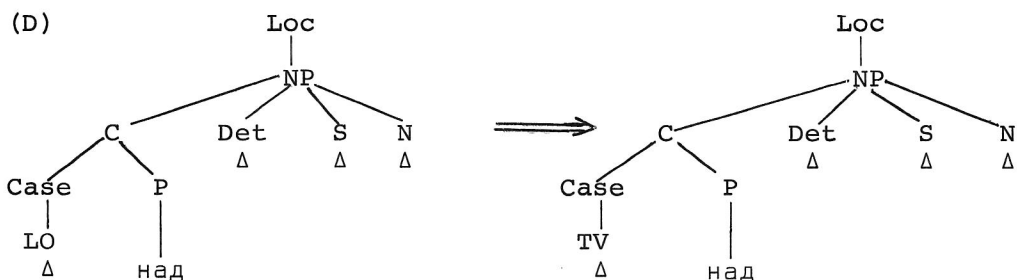
C → Case (P)

This expansion will be dealt with further below. There are seven case markers, RO, DA, VI, TV, PR, PA, LO, standing for the traditional designations "genitive," "dative," "accusative," "instrumental," "prepositional," "partitive," and "locative," respectively.⁷ These markers are copied onto the other constituents of their actants at a later stage in the grammar, after necessary deletions and changes of case markers have been made. A noun phrase may have only one of these markers at any given time, but changes and deletions may be made, according to various rules. Note that there is no marker for what is traditionally called "nominative"; the nominative is the unmarked case, as has been argued by Jakobson, and it arises in this system from the transposition ("fronting") of the noun phrase selected to serve as subject, by means of the subsequent obligatory deletion of its case element (C).⁸ The subject position is thus characterized by the neutralization of case distinctions.

In the expansion of C, the choice of case marker is determined by rules which make use of information about the individual actants, as is the choice of whether or not there will be a preposition; thus, "objective" requires RO without a preposition, "locative" requires LO with a preposition, etc. "Agentive" requires TV without a preposition, as does "instrumental"; this syncretism explains the surface syntactic homomorphism between such utterances as *Это письмо было написано Иваном* (This letter was written by Ivan), and *Это письмо было написано карандашом* (This letter was written with a pencil). The derivational histories explicitly state the difference in their deep structures. In those instances where a preposition has been chosen, it can be supplied in a number of ways. As Fillmore points out for English, some prepositions (e.g., location prepositions) are

filled in from the lexicon, and carry contrastive meaning. Furthermore, some of them have the additional syntactic property that they cause changes in the case marker; for example, the choice of the location preposition на "on" (in general) simply adds semantic information, but the choice of the location preposition над "over" both adds semantic information and causes the replacement of LO by TV. "Some prepositions are assigned by inherent syntactic features of specific verbs." Thus, смеяться "to laugh" requires the insertion of the preposition над "at" (in this context) into its objective phrase; над, in turn, again requires the substitution of TV for the original case marker (RO). Similarly, зависеть "to depend" requires the insertion of the preposition от "on" (in this context), which is compatible with RO and does not change it. In addition, inherent syntactic features of specific verbs can cause changes in Case; thus, владеть "to rule" requires the replacement of RO by TV in its objective, while подражать "to imitate" requires replacement by DA. "The remaining prepositions are filled in by rules which make use of information about the actants." So, in Russian, the actant Com ("comitative") chooses the case marker TV with a preposition, and requires that preposition to be с "with" (i.e., the node P, when ultimately dominated by Com, can be expanded only into с). At this point, some sample portions of trees may help to clarify the structures dominated by actants and the relation of actants to other parts of the sentence.





(A) illustrates the beginning of the derivation which will eventually produce an objective-locative-agentive sentence, such as Иван убил Петра в саду (Ivan killed Peter in the garden), and shows the relations among the various major constituents of the sentence, the major constituents of the proposition, and the relationship between actants and noun phrases. (B), (C), and (D) illustrate the expansion of actants; (B) has no preposition, (C) and (D) have prepositions; in (C) the preposition на is chosen for the expansion of P, and does not affect the other node dominated by C, while in (D) the preposition над is chosen, triggering the transformation shown. Analogous transformations are triggered by the choice of various verbs which carry syntactic requirements concerning the constituents of C and their associated actants.

As in English, "the subject of the sentence is selected, according to certain constraints, from among the propositional actants. A transformation places the noun phrase selected to serve as subject to the left of the auxiliary phrase." In English it is necessary to delete the preposition when an actant is in subject position, while in Russian it is necessary to delete C (and everything it dominates). Later in the grammar, when case-markers are copied onto the other elements of their noun phrases, there will be nothing to copy for these actants, and they will come out in the unmarked (traditionally "nominative") case.⁹ In English, "some verbs are marked to delete the prepositions of the actants which immediately follow them;" in Russian there is a general rule which replaces RO in an objective phrase by VI under certain circumstances. This rule does not apply, however, in the production of nominalizations (cf. открытие Америки "the discovery of America"), and it in general does not apply when the negative element is present in Mod. Certain verbs, such as искать "to look for," ждать "to wait for," have inherent syntactic features blocking the operation of this rule when certain semantic or syntactic conditions are met, even when the negative element is not present, and still other verbs, such as избегать "to avoid," бояться "to fear," достигать "to attain," etc., do not permit the operation of this rule at all.¹⁰

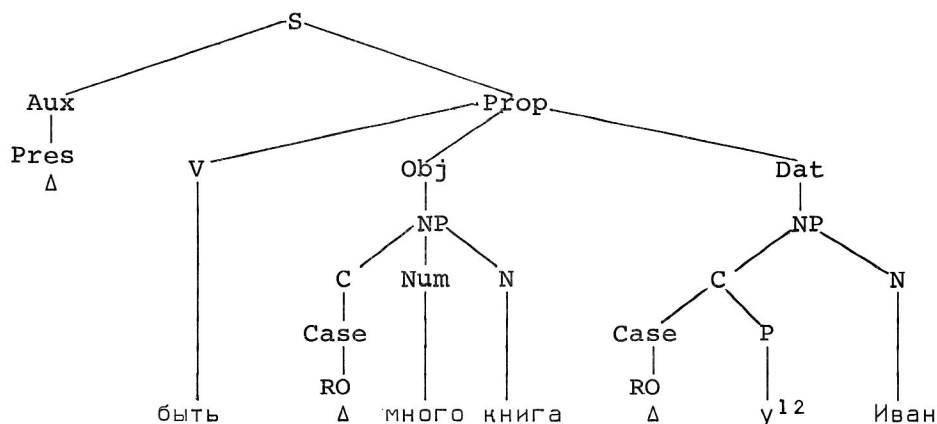
Fillmore treats several other interesting points, many of which are applicable also to Russian, but only one more will be dealt with here before proceeding to a discussion of the "passive." The point in question is Fillmore's treatment of "have" in English, which suggests a similar treatment for the corresponding Russian construction. According to Fillmore, the verb "have" is the result of the juxtaposition of "be" and the objective preposition "with" after a noun phrase. Thus, for example, the objective-locative sentence "(Aux) ((be) (with some books))

(on the shelf)), " after undergoing transposition and an actant-copying rule, will come out as "(on the shelf) (Aux) ((be) (with some books) (on the shelf)), " and, after pronominalization, preposition-deletion, and be + with-combination, as "The shelf has some books on it." Fillmore continues, "The comitative also has the preposition with, but the comitative with does not blend with be to give have. Thus, in objective-comitative sentences we find have only when the comitative is made the subject. Thus...

The children are with Mary.

Mary has the children with her."¹¹

In Russian we find two essentially-synonymous constructions, about which we would like to be able to say that they come from the same deep structure, and that they are differentiated by a late rule which gives them different surface structures and introduces a stylistic difference between them. They are constructions of the types У Ивана (есть) много книг and Иван имеет много книг (Ivan has many books). Fillmore's analysis of English "have" suggests that these two Russian constructions do indeed have the same deep structure, and represent an objective-dative sentence with the structure



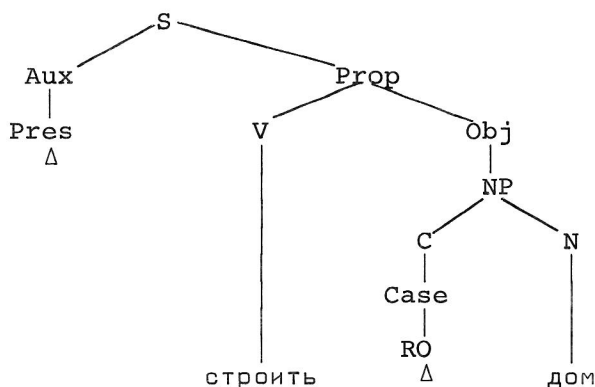
The verb иметь "to have" arises from the combination of быть "to be" with the objective case marker RO. (The rule producing иметь must necessarily precede the rule which changes the objective RO into VI, since the objective after иметь undergoes the change; special rules are of course needed to account for the syntactic peculiarities of numerals.) Thus, where the dative phrase is chosen as the subject, the objective phrase remains and retains its case marker, and the verb иметь arises from быть + RO (of an objective) after a noun phrase. Where the objective is chosen as the subject, it no longer follows быть and its case marker RO is deleted, causing быть to remain.¹³ The essential difference here between Russian and English is that Russian allows either noun phrase to become the subject, while English requires that in such sentences the dative be the subject. These two Russian utterances, then, have the same deep structure, which accounts for their identity of meaning, and they differ substantively only in the choice of which noun phrase is to be the subject. All other differences stem automatically from that one.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the Russian passive in terms of the present analysis. Only those passive constructions which are formed with reflexive verbs will be dealt with in detail here.

The question arises as to what constitutes a "passive sentence." In English and in some other languages this notion is often defined morphologically; that is, a sentence is considered to be passive if its finite verb appears in a form of the passive voice. If the notion "passive sentence" is defined syntactically, then it is often taken to mean a sentence in whose derivation the passive marker has been chosen; this marker then triggers the passive transformation at the appropriate point in the grammar, causing rearrangement of some of the constituents of the underlying sentence and insertion of various elements (in English, be + -en and, when an agent noun phrase is present, by) which ultimately produce a verb in the passive voice and, if the agent noun phrase is present, the non-subject agentive. Such definitions will not suffice for Russian. Passive sentences of the type Он считается гением (He is considered [to be] a genius), Маша одевается у Диора (Masha gets her clothes ["is clothed"] at Dior's), etc., abound in Russian, and they have roughly the same force as the corresponding English sentences with overtly passive verbs. Morphologically, however, these verbs are not forms of the passive voice in Russian, and similar forms of these and other verbs do not carry any passive meaning, cf. Пётр моется (Peter is washing [himself]), Маша быстро одевается (Masha dresses [herself] quickly), etc. It is rather unsatisfying to assume that reflexive-passive sentences contain in their underlying representations a passive marker which does not leave any overt mark on the sentence, and that their structure cannot be differentiated from that of true reflexive sentences. Yet, without an analysis based on a theory like the one proposed above, we are left with no syntactic means of reflecting the semantic difference present here. When we examine the semantics of these reflexive-passive constructions and of the "true passive" constructions (such as Он был награждён президентом), we discover that they do have something in common, namely, that in all of them the agent of the verbal action is not the subject. This observation conforms to the semantic definition of "passive," and we can use it in attempting to provide a relational syntactic definition of the notion of "passive sentence:" a given verb is "passive" and the sentence to which it belongs is "passive" if the verb admits the possibility of an agentive actant, and if its subject is an objective. This syntactic definition is the direct correlate of the semantic definition of "passive." Verbs which do not admit the possibility of an agentive (traditionally called "intransitive verbs") can never be passive, and verbs which do admit the possibility of an agentive ("transitive verbs") will be passive if an objective is selected as the subject.¹⁴ It then follows that verbs which have agentive actants as their subjects cannot be passive. Thus, in such examples as Он считается гением and Маша одевается у Диора, the verbs считать and одевать both admit agentives; and their subjects, он and Маша, are both objectives; therefore, they are passive and their sentences are passive. In the case of Америку открыл Колумб or Пётр моется, however, the subjects Колумб and Пётр are agentive, and so the verbs and sentences are not passive. Verbs and sentences which are passive according to this relational syntactic definition (or according

to its semantic correlate) will be called "syntactically" or "semantically passive;" the subset of these verbs or sentences which display forms of the passive voice (i.e., which are passive in form as well as meaning) will be called "formally" or "morphologically passive."

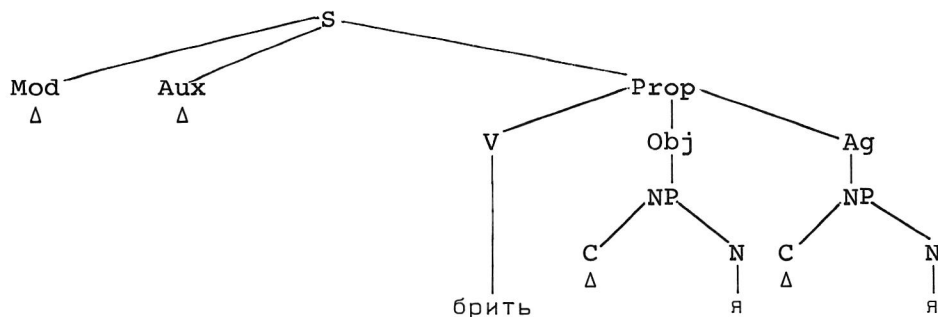
Russian sentences of the reflexive-passive type, such as Дом строится (The house is being built), will have deep structures like



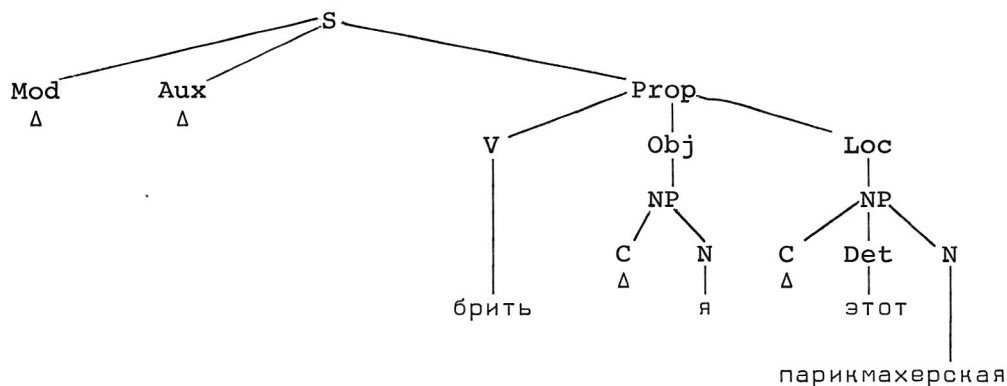
The verb allows an agentive actant, but the objective is chosen as the subject; therefore, the sentence will be semantically passive. In the production of such sentences as this one, it is necessary to make use of a noun-phrase-copying rule, akin to the rule Fillmore posits for English. This rule in Russian leaves behind a copy of a non-agentive noun phrase which is fronted as the subject in a sentence where the selectional restrictions of the verb allow an agentive actant (whether or not an agentive is present). So, in this case, when the objective is fronted as the subject, a copy is left behind, and this copy later undergoes the reflexivization transformation, which converts it to -ся and attaches it to the verb.

W. Harrison, in "The Expression of the Passive Voice," presents a valuable survey of the (semantic) passive in Russian.¹⁵ In discussing reflexive passives, he adopts Vinogradov's categorization of reflexive verbs "with some modifications" and lists sixteen categories of reflexives, one of which is "verbs which express passive meaning."¹⁶ He also points out that the passive use of imperfective reflexives is rather common and relatively unrestricted, while this use of perfective verbs is limited to certain definable groups of verbs. Harrison then discusses the passive use of various categories of reflexive verbs. It is interesting to consider his observations in the light of the present framework of analysis.¹⁷ His group (i) consists of "reflexive verbs proper such as мыться (to wash), одеваться (to dress), бриться (to shave)," etc. Harrison observes that verbs of this group are usually reflexive when used with a person as subject (Я моюсь), though they may be passive (Я бреюсь в этой парикмахерской), that these verbs are not used with an expressed agent in the instrumental if the subject is animate (*Я бреюсь этим парикмахером, *Кошка моется девочкой) and that they can be used to express the passive with an instrumental agent if the subject

is inanimate (Окно моется рабочим). In the context of the present analysis, the difference between such sentences as Я бреюсь (reflexive) and Я бреюсь в этой парикмахерской (passive) is clear; Я бреюсь has the structure



While Я бреюсь в этой парикмахерской has the structure



In the first example, the agentive is chosen as subject and the objective is reflexivized; in the second there is no agentive, the objective is chosen as subject, and -ся comes from a copy of the objective phrase. Thus, while the subjects of both sentences are, in Harrison's terms, "personal," they do not come from the same deep-structure categories, and the difference in the function of the verb (reflexive vs. passive) is clear and proceeds directly from a difference in the underlying structure of the sentence. Harrison's other observations about this class of verbs can be expressed in terms of the selectional restrictions of the verbs: they must have objective actants; they allow agentive actants; the objective cannot be chosen as subject if it is animate and if an agentive is present. It should be noted that the verbs being spoken of here are the verbs мыть, брить, одевать, etc., and not their "reflexive" forms, which are not entered in the lexicon at all, and which arise automatically from the non-reflexive forms as shown above. This also provides an overt way of showing the connection between мыть and мыть in such examples as Окно моется рабочим and Рабочий моет окно (objective vs. agentive chosen as subject) and provides an overt way of explaining the difference between these two on the one hand and *Я бреюсь этим парикмахером and Меня бреет этот парикма-

хер on the other (animate objective cannot be chosen as subject if agentive is present). In both cases the reflexivization is automatic.

Verbs of Harrison's group (ii) (защищаться "to defend oneself," готовиться "to prepare oneself," заниматься "to occupy oneself," etc.) are also limited in their use as passives.¹⁸ When the subject is animate they function as reflexives (Она готовится к экзамену, Пассажиры собираются на палубе); they are generally not used as passives when the subject is animate, although such use is "possible" (Она готовится к экзамену профессором Ивановым, Овцы собираются пастухом); they must be passive when used with inanimate subjects (Книги собираются в библиотеке vs. Читатели собираются в библиотеке). This group can be treated in the same way as group (i), except that the restriction which prohibits choosing an animate objective as subject when there is an agentive present must be weakened. The distinction between the last two examples is simply that of objective vs. agentive subject; the choice of an animate objective as subject when an agentive is present is marginal; that these verbs are passive when used with inanimate subjects is implicit in the more general rule that agentives are (normally) animate--an inanimate subject must therefore reflect an objective or some other non-agentive actant.

Group (iv) consists of verbs "denoting inner, mental or emotional state" such as сердиться "to be angry," радоваться "to be glad," etc. These verbs, according to Harrison, are not used in the passive, and their subjects are always animate. These conditions reflect the selectional restrictions that the verbs in question require agentives, and require that the agentive be chosen as the subject. Thus, in *Он сердится ею (*He is angry by her), ею can be interpreted only as an agentive, and so the sentence is ungrammatical, since the agentive must be chosen as the subject. In the grammatical Он сердится на неё (He is/is getting angry at her), на неё is not an agentive, as is clear both from the meaning and from the form. It is clear also that Он сердится на неё is not a passive transform of Она сердит его (She angers him). The fact that the subject is always animate follows from the syntactic fact that it must be an agentive, just as it follows from the semantic nature of the verbs in question. The syntactic constraints on these verbs are interesting in view of the fact that it has been convincingly argued by R.A. Rothstein that the basic form of these verbs, as entered in the lexicon, is the reflexive rather than the non-reflexive one.¹⁹

Group (vi) consists of verbs which undergo radical changes of meaning through the addition of -ся, such as возиться "to busy oneself with," from возить "to transport." Because the meaning of the reflexive form is so distant from the meaning of the original verb, these verbs are not ordinarily used in the reflexive-passive function when the subject is animate. Group (vii), reciprocal verbs, is not used in the passive function. The verbs of Harrison's other groups, when they meet the syntactic conditions for reflexive passives discussed here, can be used as passives. In many cases, however, the conditions are not met because the verbs do not allow agentives, or because an actant other than an objective is chosen as the subject. An example of the latter situation can be seen in the sentence Мы строимся за городом (We are having a house built in the country). This is a dative-locative sentence, and -ся here comes from the reflexivi-

zation of a copy of the dative actant мы, which is chosen as the subject. Had an objective actant been chosen in the original expansion of this sentence, and had that objective been selected as the subject, the sentence would have been passive, cf. Дом строится для нас за городом (A house is being built for us in the country). The restricted group of perfective verbs which can form reflexive passives fits into this same analysis. Harrison observes that these verbs are not used with animate agents, which simply reflects the constraint that these verbs require the agentive, if present, to be chosen as the subject.

In this way, the introduction of an explicit link between the syntactic and the semantic information present in Russian sentences with reflexive verbs is able to clarify the uses of reflexive verbs and the expression of the passive, and to contribute to the understanding of the syntactic relationships of Russian sentences as a whole.

Notes

1. These three constructions are discussed in W[illiam] Harrison, "The Expression of the Passive Voice," Studies in the Modern Russian Language, No. 4 (Cambridge, 1967).
2. Russian active constructions which correspond to English passives usually have the "inverted" word-order "object-verb-subject."
3. Charles J. Fillmore, "A Proposal Concerning English Prepositions," in Report of the Seventeenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies, ed. Francis P. Dinneen, S. J., (Washington, D.C., 1966).
4. Fillmore, p. 22.
5. Fillmore, pp. 22-23.
6. Fillmore, pp. 23-24. The printed text has "ergative" for "objective," but Professor Fillmore has indicated in a private communication that the word should be "objective," and so the change has been made here.
7. Partitive and locative are treated here as separate cases in Russian, following Jakobson's opinion. They fit quite naturally into the present analysis, and are, indeed, essential parts of the system under description, though they do not figure prominently in a discussion of the passive.
8. Although Russian word-order is "free," the "neutral" word-order remains subject-verb-object, and we should want deviations from that order to be "explained" by stylistic, syntactic, or other grammatical rules. Hence, subject-fronting is an integral part of Russian syntax, and later rules will account for differences from this in the surface structure.
9. The appropriate "nominative" desinences will be provided by a rule which supplies desinences to constituents of noun phrases which have no case markers.

10. These are verbs which are traditionally said to "take the genitive."
11. Fillmore, p. 26.
12. y is a dative preposition which causes replacement of DA by RO.
13. The fact that the objective phrase follows быть in the surface structure is the result of a later rule. See note 8.
14. Further study of sentences in which the subject is neither an objective nor an agentive may indicate that this statement should be strengthened to "if the agentive is not selected as the subject." The role of Lakoff's FLIP transformation in the present system is an interesting question. FLIP may well be a rule which is concerned with the initial choice of the subject noun-phrase, rather than with the later interchanging of noun phrases.
15. Loc. cit. See note 1.
16. Harrison, pp. 9-11.
17. The material from Harrison discussed below can be found in full on pp. 11-15. The examples used in the discussion of this material are taken from Harrison's text.
18. Though he does not say so specifically, Harrison appears to be discussing group (iii) along with group (ii) here, since the examples include verbs which belong to group (iii). Group (iii) is composed of verbs indicating "change of position," such as возвращаться "to return," подниматься "to climb," etc.
19. Robert Allen Rothstein, Predicate Complementation in Contemporary Polish, doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1966, pp. 96-108. Rothstein makes this claim for "verbs of emotion" in Polish, and suggests that the situation is the same in Russian.

ANALYSIS OF A POEM BY TĚFFI¹

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I 1 Он ночью приплывет на черных парусах,
2 Серебряный корабль с пурпурною каймою!
3 Но люди не поймут, что он приплыл за мною,
4 И скажут: "Вот луна играет на волнах..."

II 1 Как черный серафим три парные крыла,
2 Он вскинет паруса над звездной тишиною!
3 Но люди не поймут, что он уплыл со мною,
4 И скажут: "Вот она сегодня умерла..."

(A literal prose translation is given in Note 1.)

Two salient features of this poem are the near-identity of the second distichs of each stanza, and the parallel mid-stanza shifts from romantic symbolism to prosaic colloquialism. A close reading shows, however, that the role of parallelisms in the poem is far more subtle and complex than it first appears. The poem is built on tension between sameness on one linguistic level and simultaneous maximal difference on another, on an interplay between deep and surface parallelisms, on simultaneous equipollent oppositions (e.g. two items marked vs. unmarked for a grammatical feature but unmarked vs. marked for a lexical feature). The shifts in tone too, are an integral part of the poem's symbolic and narrative development. It is a finely structured work, deserving of close analysis, but short and simple enough to be thoroughly analyzed in a brief paper.

Poetics as taught by Roman Jakobson is an application of linguistics: Jakobson's concept of grammatical oppositions underlies any examination of the poet's use of linguistic constants and variables to carry his message, and a linguistics of levels provides an organizing principle for the analysis of the parallels, echoes, and contrasts through which the reader's attention is focused on the poetic message. The purpose of analysis is to uncover what the message is, to correct, expand or justify the intuitive interpretation made on first or second reading through the systematic marshalling of linguistic evidence.

The nearly identical sentence structures of the two stanzas strike the eye as well as the ear. The nearly identical second distichs I₃₄ II₃₄ form a syntactic repetitio: abcx-abcy, and the identical punctuation of the two stanzas supports the impression of syntactic parallelism. In the first distichs, the verses I₁ II₂ and I₂ II₁ also exhibit a high degree of constructional parallelism in a syntactic reditio: ax-ya, due to the reversed order in II, the only departure from unmarked, neutral word order. The surface difference between I₁ and II₁ is deceptive, however, and so is the surface similarity of I₂ and II₁, as will be seen from the text, printed below with all ellipses recovered. (The text is shown in transliteration, with ellipses marked by # followed by the omitted words in square brackets.) I₁ and I₂ turn out to be identical in their underlying structures: I₂ is in apposition to on, the subject of I₁, which is to say it is

the subject of an elliptical predicate identical to that of I_1 . Line II_1 , consisting like I_2 of two noun phrases, modifies the predicate of II_2 . The sequence of the noun phrases signals that the potentially ambiguous kak is a conjunction and that II_1 is an elliptical sentence syntactically identical to the first half of the superficially very different II_2 . Hence, along with reditio in the surface structure, we have repetitio in the underlying structure of the first half of each stanza. The syntactic parallels are accompanied by repetitions on the lexical level. In order to point these out, all repeated words are underlined in the text. Elliptical repetitions and the partial repetition -plyl in uplyl are underlined with a broken line. Each stanza contains twenty-seven printed words. Of the total, twenty appear only once in the text. Only the pronoun on appears more than twice - four times - and always in the same nominative form. Ljudi, although it appears only twice overtly is also the elliptical subject of skažut so that, like on, it is the subject of four verbs--another case of parallelism in the underlying rather than in the surface structure.

- I 1 On nóčju priplyvët na čěrnýx parusáx,
 2 Serébrjanyj korábl' s purpúrnoju kajmóju! [# = nóčju
priplyvët na čěrnýx parusáx]
 3 No ljúdi ne pojmuť, čto on priplýl za mnoju,
 4 I [# = ljúdi] skážut: "Vót luná igráet na volnáx..."
- II 1 Kak čěrnýj serafim [# = yskínet] trí párnye krylá,
 2 On yskínet parusá nad zvězdnoj tišinóju!
 3 No ljúdi ne pojmuť, čto on uplyl so mnoju,
 4 I [# = ljúdi] skážut: "Vót oná segódnja umerlá..."

The parallelism on the lexical level supports the syntactic parallelism of the poem. The structurally identical clauses of the second distichs are nearly identical lexically as well, differing only by one prefix and one preposition:

- I_3 ...čto on priplyl za mnoju,
 II_3 ...čto on uplyl so mnoju,

It is here that the two stanzas are opposed to each other. The "plot" of the poem is summed up in these clauses. Maximal difference on the level of content is expressed in minimally different forms.

Having outlined the sentence structure and the lexical inventory, we can now examine their role in the symbolic message of the poem, together with the supporting role of grammatical signs in its symbolic structure.

The pronoun on 'he/it', the first and most frequent word, plays the leading role. A definite indexical symbol, it requires identification in the linguistic or situational context, otherwise it elicits a question, kto 'who?' or čto 'what?'. The grammatical ambiguity is immediately resolved as the necessary identification is supplied: the question is čto?, the answer is I_2 Serebrjanyj korábl' s purpurnoju kajmoju! We shall now examine

the development of on line by line:

- I₁ On, potentially a person,
- I₂ is identified as an object, a ship;
- I₃ but ljudi 'people' will not understand its function,
- I₄ they will make an irrelevant remark because they will not see it:

On is now revealed as a symbol, not an object.

II₁ As a seraph unfurls (will unfurl/might unfurl) its wings,

II₂ so the ship, on, will unfurl its sails;

Here a new image is superposed on the image of the ship: an other-worldly symbol of power and majesty is added to the quiet peace of the ship in the night. The line from Azbučnaja molitva comes to mind: Šest'krilat" silou v"spriim", 'having taken on the strength of the six-winged ones,' the ship will unfurl its sails. The simile is supported by the repetition of word and sound in the adjectives, which will be discussed in detail below.

II₃ Again, people will not understand what really happened.
(The use of the word 'really' here will be justified in the discussion of the verb pojmut.)

II₄ And will say, "Vot ona segodnja umerla..."

The first person narrator, who appears as the oblique mnoju in I₃ II₃ is now revealed as a woman, and the ship is revealed as a symbol of death in the speech of the alien ljudi, whose prosaic realism is contrasted to the poetic reality of the ship.

All the poetic symbolism is concentrated in the first distichs, which contain all the adjectives and the only departure from neutral, prose word-order, but the gradual unveiling of the symbol is not complete until the last speech of the "others"--ljudi. The second distichs, with their straightforward syntax and lack of imagery--the stock figure of I₄ barely counts--are sharply contrasted to the first. The particle vot 'see' or 'there' (Fr. 'voilà') emphasizes the prosaic tone of the second distichs. I have called ljudi "alien" or "other," for the "otherness" of ljudi is supported by grammatical distinctions. These two grammatical subjects are in equipollent opposition: lexically ljudi is as general as on is definite. Grammatically too, they are severally opposed: on is masculine, singular, grammatically ambiguous but contextually defined as inanimate, while ljudi is genderless, plural, unambiguously animate. The other grammatical subjects, luna 'moon' and ona 'she' are in stronger contrast with ljudi, since the feminine gender has one more grammatical feature than the masculine. The last word, umerla, 'she died' tells us ona is animate, in opposition with the first word, the inanimate on. The persona, or narrator, who first appeared as mnoju, becomes ona, exchanging genderless but maximally marked person for maximally marked gender. The previous use of marked person and the selectional restriction on the verb disambiguate the unmarked third person pronoun. In the subjects, the individuals--symbol and person--are overtly contrasted with the plurality, ljudi. In addition the strikingly symmetrical distribu-

The sparseness of the subject noun phrases contrasts with the more elaborate noun phrases in other positions. We will now examine the role of their adjectives in the poem's imagery:

- The only adjective without color or light connotations, párnyj, provides a stressed echo for the unstressed first syllable of the preceding and following occurrences of parusá(x) 'sails'. The rest denote or connote colors, but colors almost without color, a play of dark and light, absence versus presence of light; pur-purnyj alone, edges into the lower end of the spectrum, forecasting the majestic image of II₁. The repetition of čěrnij links I₁ and II₂, whose surface structures have little in common otherwise, but this sameness is deceptive: the ship's sails are compared to the seraph's wings, but čěrnij modifies not kryla, but serafim, the whole, not the part. The powerful simile built on the highly expressive action verb vskinet is enhanced through synecdoche as the silver and purple of the first symbol are left behind and black dominates the new image. In the final figure, nad zvězdoj tišinoju 'above the starry (or starlit) stillness (or quietness)' there is a metaphoric telescoping of sight and sound impressions, and metonymy in the substitution of the abstract quality for the expected words for "still, quiet place."

The other adverbial elements, the instrumental and locative prepositional phrases which end six of the eight lines, combine morphological sameness with semantic differences. The two identical instrumentals mnoju are governed by strongly opposed prepositions. In the syntactically parallel verses I, II, a locative

is opposed to an instrumental, but the usual role of these cases is reversed: it is the instrumental phrase that expresses location and the locative phrase that expresses means or manner. This shift entails semantic contrasts with the location locative in I_4 and the descriptive instrumental in I_2 which are formal links with I_1 and II_2 respectively.

The verbs, not surprisingly, carry a major portion of the message. Perfective present-future forms figure in the first half of each verse except the parallel modifiers I_2 and II_1 in which only nominal groups are overtly used. Each form predicts a discrete, complete event without specifying the degree of probability of its occurrence. Hence vskinet in II_2 is used for an event the narrator presents as a real occurrence at some future time, but in the "understood" occurrence of vskinet in II_1 the same verb has a hypothetical generic sense. Both contextual connotations are allowed, but there is no grammatical feature or "mark" to prevent the rule of "gapping" from operating. (This is a general rule in the language, allowing for the deletion of identical or near-identical verb forms in conjoined sentences under certain conditions.) Since generic statements are usually made with an imperfective present, and either aspect seems to be recoverable in the kak clause, we must justify vskinet rather than the imperfective vskidyvaet. The strongest reason is that the verb vskinet is semelfactive, denoting a single sudden upward motion, while its imperfective would suggest a series of upward tosses, quite inconsistent with the images of the poem. The perfective would be preferable on aesthetic grounds, partly because of the repetition, partly because the generic perfective is more "expressive." Moreover, the perfective suggests a hypothetical interpretation, while the imperfective present, the same form as that used for "real" present events, has factual connotations. The subject of the elliptical vskinet is the figurative seraph; it is only the ship that is presented as real.

As was noted above, it is in the verbs priplyl and uplyl and their prepositions that the two stanzas are most sharply opposed to each other on the level of content. These grammatically "same" verbs are lexically in equipollent opposition (specifying "motion toward" versus "motion away"), and play on the resultative function of the perfective aspect, i.e. on the fact that the past form of many perfective verbs entails a stative sentence in the present tense. Korabl' priplyl 'the ship (has) arrived' entails "it is here," yet people will see another present reality, they will see only the moonlight shimmering on the waves. Korabl' uplyl 'the ship (has) sailed away' entails "it is gone, it is no longer here" and the others' statement follows: "Vot ona segodnja umerla..." Again the perfective past entails a stative sentence: umerla 'she (has) died' entails "she is dead, she is no longer here." The prosaic realistic ljudi will make the inference from the observed state only because they will not understand what really happened--they will fail to see the poetic reality. This interpretation is justified by the grammar of the verb pojmut. This verb, like the verbs know and realize in English, indicates that a complement sentence is presented by the speaker as a true fact. The sentence they will not realize that + [Sentence] or ne pojmut, čto + [Sentence] entails a sentence [Sentence] is true, whereas such verbs as think or (po)dumajut do not. The narrator opposes the two kinds of truth with the conjunction no, rather than the semantically neutral a. A would

simply juxtapose the two dissimilar statements, no interjects a note of personal frustration. The expressive punctuation adds to the effect--this is a poem for the eye as well as for the ear.

It is often said that symbolism in poetry opposes a higher mystical reality to the reality perceivable by the senses, but here the grammar provides empirical support for the validity of that definition for this poem and, circularly, for the classification of this poem as symbolist.

Syntactically, lexically, and symbolically the poem is divided horizontally: there is a sharp division between the couplets of each stanza. The stanzas themselves, the distichs, and the individual verses are marked by syntactic parallelisms, some on the surface, others in the underlying structure. The horizontal echoes on the syntactic level are complemented by lexical and morphological parallels which go both horizontally and vertically. The sound pattern too, strengthens the vertical as well as the horizontal threads, while continuing the play between real and apparent parallelism first noted on the syntactic level.

The rhyming scheme serves to weave the stanzas and the distichs together:

I -àx	II -à
-òju	-òju
-òju	-òju
-àx	-à

This scheme may be described as abba. a-minus bb a-minus, a reduction in the second stanza by one barely audible phoneme, the low tonality compact continuant /x/. Some kind of reduction toward the end of a poem about death is not unusual; compare, for example, Georgij Ivanov's truncated last line in the poem "Strast'? A esli net i strasti?": |Ili žit' kak vse na svete | Ili umirat'.|

The metric pattern is iambic hexameter, with a clausula in lines 2 and 3 of each stanza. The ju's in the instrumental endings are grammatically optional, but if one eliminates these redundant syllables, the entire poem seems to change. Although unstressed and reduced, the additional low tonality syllable adds dignity, not only because it is associated with a more formal style of speech, but because it slows down the brisk one-two beat. At the same time the lengthening of the rhyme serves to tie the contrasted distichs together and emphasizes the grammatical sameness of the instrumental constructions.

In all verses but the last in each stanza, the caesura is clearly felt after the third downbeat, where it coincides with word boundaries in the center of each line. In the fourth verses there is strong competition from the syntactic and visual boundary between main clause and quoted sentence and another after vot, which marks the division between repeated words and new words. The text is shown below with the iambic downbeats marked with an acute accent and the place of the caesura indicated by a vertical line. The quality of nearly every vowel plays a role in the sound pattern--only a very few are both posttonic and on the upbeat, hence almost completely reduced; some unstressed vowels carry the downbeat; others, upbeat and unstressed, are pretonic or /u/, the least reducible of the vowels.

I 1 Он нбчью приплывёт | на чёрных пáрусáх,
 2 Серебряный корáбль | с пурпúрной кáймбю!
 3 Но лбди нб поймúт, | что бн приплбл за мнбю,
 4 И скáжут: "Вбт лунá | игрáет нá волнáх..."

II 1 Как чёрный сбрафим | три пáрные крылá,
 2 Он вскийнет пáрусá | над звéздной тйшинбю!
 3 Но лбди нб поймúт, | что бн уплбл со мнбю,
 4 И скáжут: "Вбт онá | сегбдня úмерлá..."

Ictus:	I	II	III		IV	V	VI
(downbeat)	8	2	8		8	2	8

James Bailey has pointed out to me the unusually symmetrical distribution of the stressed ictuses. In the second foot, the ictus falls both times on vot, in the fifth, on priplyl and uplyl, placing these words in relief.

The vowels are abstracted below (consonants will be discussed in the context of vowels). The phonetic symbols used stand for the five stressable phonemes of Russian plus three contextual variants since, as Kiril Taranowski has shown,² both distinctive and redundant phonetic features play a role in the syn-aesthetic bonds between sound and meaning in poetry. The symbols are [ø] and [o], [i] and [ɨ], [e] and [ɛ] for the positional variants of /o/, /i/, /e/; and /a/, /u/, whose contextual variations do not significantly affect their role in the poetic sound texture. In traditional poetics, low tonality (back and/or rounded) vowels are called "dark" and are often associated with sadness, evil premonitions, and the like. The redundantly grave back variant [ɨ] can add to the "dark" connotations of [o]'s and /u/'s in a poem. Conversely, the higher tonality (front, acute) vowels seem to have more cheerful connotations, and are traditionally called "bright" or "light" vowels; [i], [e], redundantly acute in Russian, may be considered as "bright" and, to a lesser degree, so can [ø] the fronted variant which occurs when the rounded vowel /o/ is between two sharp consonants. In this poem, fully fronted [ø] does not occur, only a slightly fronted [ø], either preceded or followed by a sharp consonant. This intermediate fronting will be assumed to neutralize "dark" connotations but to be insufficient to give "bright" connotations. The feature of compactness in the maximally open vowel /a/ (and in the compact consonants /k/g/x/č/š/ž/) is associated with images of strength, stability, majesty, large size. The connotations of /a/ may be supported by redundantly compact [o]'s and [ɛ]'s in the context. (The slightly fronted [ø], not having as open an articulation as [o] is not redundantly compact. [ɛ] does not occur in our text.) In the chart below the vowels in the poem are transcribed as follows: those which carry both downbeat and word stress--XX, stress marks as well indicate maximal prominence in a phonemic phrase--XX̄. Stressed upbeat or unstressed downbeat--X; pretonic vowels and all unstressed /u/'s--x; and further reduced vowels are represented by *.

I 1 o ŐŐ u I i ŐŐ | * ŐŐ * A u ÁÁ
 2 i ĚĚ * ꝥ a ÁÁ | u UU * U a ŐŐ u
 3 o ÚÚ * I a ÚÚ | a OO i ĚĚ a ŐŐ u
 4 i ÁÁ u OO u ÁÁ | i ÁÁ * A a ÁÁ

II 1 a ŐŐ * I a ÍÍ | I AA * ꝥ i ÁÁ
 2 o ÍÍ * A u ÁÁ | a ŐŐ * I i ŐŐ u
 3 o ÚÚ * I a ÚÚ | a OO u ĚĚ a ŐŐ u
 4 i ÁÁ u OO a ÁÁ | i ŐŐ * U i ÁÁ

If we assign a point value to each vowel prominence in the above chart, counting * as zero, x as 1, X as 2, XX as 3, and XX as 4, compact vowels have the highest cumulative score: 68 for /a/, plus 20 for [o], for a total of 88. Dark vowels are next, with 35 for /u/, plus 20 for [o] and 15 for [i], for a total of 70; light vowels are in the minority, with 25 for [i], 3 for [e], for a total of 28.

Although it is a poem about death, the theme of death is not presented as a sad one. The parts which deal with the symbol, the first distichs and the dependent clauses in I₃ II₃ have a rather even distribution of vowel tonalities. In the symbol-bearing first distichs there is an interplay of dark and light on the phonetic level, just as there is on the lexical level with the color adjectives. It is in the third verses that the somber sounds are concentrated: No ljudi ne pojmut is the saddest part of the poem. In the consonants too, low tonality is associated with sadness or darkness, while acute sounds are felt as brighter. The cluster or combination [pr] or [p..r] is often repeated, and the labial nearly always appears in combination with a brighter sonorant. It is only in the sad verses 3 that both stop and sonorant are low tonality [p..m..] and are combined with dark vowels. In addition to relieving the somberness of the /p/'s, the distribution of sonorants places in relief the compact sounds of the only three words that have no sonorants: kak II₁ and skažut I₄ II₄. (A comparison count of occurrences of /m/n/r/l/ and /j/v/ in a 52-word passage of expository prose taken at random yielded a total of 62, to 81 in the poem.) The two occurrences of skažut in particular stand out sharply against the melodic background. This perfective form is "the same" as other verb forms in the text in a number of grammatical features, but phonetically it is maximally "different." Compact sounds are concentrated in the symbol-bearing first distichs and in the final verses. It is clear that the connotations of strength, balance, majesty, large size are used in two ways. In the symbolic development, compact sounds support the image of size, balance and majesty in the ship, majestic strength and power in the image of the seraph. In the final verses, which follow the somber No ljudi ne pojmut..., the focus is on the balanced common sense of the realistic others, and the feeling of size conveyed by the compact sounds emphasizes the impersonal plurality of ljudi against the lone individuals, symbol and person.

Brik³ has shown that in many poetic works the final key word is forecast by the previous appearance of each syllable.

In closing, let us now examine the final verse for the kind of "anagram" mentioned by Brik and pointed out by Professor Jakobson in many of his lectures.

The final line has no new sound, though three of its words are new:

II₄ I skažut: "Vot ona segodnja umerla..."

A somewhat narrower phonetic transcription will be used here than in the vowel chart, as we examine the three new words for previous appearances of their individual syllables.

oná [aná] There are several other pretonic [a]'s; [ná] echoes luná I₄, also [valnák], and the prepositions in I₁ I₄, II₂, with unstressed [na].

segódnja [šivódɲə] The first syllable repeats the first syllable in serebrjanyj II₁; [vó] appears twice in Vot. The final syllable echoes the last syllable of zvězdnój in II₂.⁴

umerlá [umirlá] The first syllable echoes the first in uplýl, among others. The final syllable [lá] rhymes with krylá, I₄.

Only [mir] is not foreshadowed. The root MER 'death' is entirely new in this poem otherwise saturated with repetitions. Appearing in the speech of the alien ljudi, umerla is not what really happened: the prosaic realists, the others, clearly have the wrong answer.

Notes

1. Těffi. Pseudonym of Mme. N.A. Bučinskaja, 1872-1952. I do not have an exact date for this text, found in a box of clippings made in the 1920's from the Paris newspaper Poslednie Novosti before the latter abandoned the old orthography. A literal prose translation of the text is given here for the convenience of any reader who does not know Russian. Possible ambiguities, which are discussed in the body of the paper, are not discussed here. Vot can only be approximated in translation.

It will arrive at night, on black sails,
The silver ship with purple trim!
But people will not understand that it has come for me,
And will say: "See, the moon is playing on the waves..."

As a black seraph [will unfurl] three paired wings,
It will unfurl its sails above the starry stillness!
But people will not understand that it has gone with me,
And will say: "You see, she died today..."

2. Taranovski, Kiril, "The Sound Texture of Russian Verse in the Light of Phonemic Distinctive Features," IJSLP IX, 1965, pp. 114-124.
3. Brik, Osip Maksimovich, "Zvukovye povtory," Two Essays on Poetic Language, with postscript by Roman Jakobson. Michigan Slavic Materials #5. Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Ann Arbor, 1964, p. 4.
4. Brik, ibid., p. 5, notes that sharp and non-sharp consonants are considered as equivalent for purposes of rhyme and other assonances, unlike voiced and unvoiced consonants, which are felt as different sounds.

A NOTE ON TWO OPPOSITIONS OF STANDARD ITALIAN
WITH A LOW FUNCTIONAL YIELD

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During the last several decades, the low yield oppositions of standard Italian have been the object both of frequent controversy on the part of serious linguists intent on an assessment of the Italian phonemic system,¹ and of normative tirades on the part of indignant purists obsessed with the scarcely existent need to impose an impractical standard of "purity" and "correctness."²

The controversy has most frequently centered around the status of [s] and [z], regarded by some as allophones in complementary distribution and by others as separate phonemes;³ on the status of the mid vowels ([e] vs. [ɛ], and [o] vs. [ɔ]);⁴ and on the question of whether one should regard the semivowels [j] and [w] as independent phonemes contrasting with [i] and [u].⁵ None of the above oppositions is marked by the standard orthography⁶ and, although they are unquestionably present in Florentine speech and in other regional varieties of Italian, they are often not found in certain other parts of the country, regardless of the speaker's level of education.

It is the purpose of this note to call attention to two other low yield oppositions of standard Italian which so far have not been properly investigated by linguists. This neglect is probably due to the fact that these oppositions are marked by the standard orthography, and this may have encouraged the assumption that they are universally observed in speech. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they are comparable in their low yield to the ones listed above. They differ, however, from the other low yield oppositions not only in being orthographically marked, but also in that each of them consists of a single phoneme contrasting with a sequence of two phonemes.

The two oppositions under consideration may be exemplified by the words vogliamo 'we want' and voliamo 'we fly', cognato 'brother-in-law' and coniato 'coined', which may be transcribed phonetically as [voʎʎá:mo] and [voljá:mo], [koŋŋá:to] and [konjá:to].⁷ While Tuscan speakers are doubtless quite aware of the differences between the words in the pairs given,⁸ there are very few instances of minimal pairs, and the possibilities of ambiguity resulting from the obliteration of these contrasts would by and large be restricted to enumeration or quotation contexts. This is so largely because the occurrence of the sequences [lj] and [nj] is rather infrequent in Italian (see below).

In the words quoted above, [ʎʎ] and [ŋŋ] are assigned to the phonemes /ʎ/ and /ŋ/ respectively, which in intervocalic position are automatically long. There is, on the other hand, less agreement on the phonemicization of the sequences [lj] and [nj]. Those linguists who regard [j] as separate from [i], would of course phonemicize [lj] and [nj] simply as /lj/ and /nj/. The prevailing opinion, however, is that [j] is an allophone of /i/, so that /i/ in unstressed position before another vowel is realized as [j]. Regardless of the phonemicization adopted, there still remains the problem of establishing the relevance of these oppositions within the phonemic system of Italian.

The phonemes /ʎ/ and /ŋ/ have a normal frequency in Italian, except that both are rare in initial position. Historically,

/λ/ and /ɲ/ are from Proto-Romance (l)li and (n)ni respectively,⁹ neither of which was particularly rare. On the other hand, the sequences [lj] and [nj] occur--except for a few words of foreign origin and latinisms--only when a suffix beginning with [j] (that is unstressed /i/ followed by a vowel) is added to a stem ending in /l/ or /n/. While stems in l- and n- do not appear to be either more or less common than stems in most other consonants, suffixes beginning with j are certainly very few. Of those occurring, the most common by far are -iámo and -iáte which may occur after any verb stem (-iámo marks the first person plural of the present indicative, present subjunctive, and imperative; -iáte is the second person plural ending of the present subjunctive). These give rise to a number of occurrences of the sequences [lj] and [nj], as for example, in addition to the forms already quoted, in veliamo [veljá:mo] 'we veil' (contrasting with vegliamo [veλλá:mo] 'we watch'), puliamo [puljá:mo] 'we clean', finiamo [finjá:mo] 'we finish', miniamo [minjá:mo] 'we mine'.

Other suffixes of the shape specified above are relatively rare and their occurrence is restricted, in the sense that, while -iámo and -iáte can occur after any verb stem, suffixes such as -iário (as in terziario [ter·tʃjá:rjo] 'tertiary'), -io (as in olimpio [olí·mpjo] 'Olympian'), -ioso (as in bilioso [biljó:so] 'bilious'), et similia can occur only after a limited number of noun stems. Nevertheless, these suffixes too give rise to a number of words containing the sequences under consideration, such as nettunio 'Neptunian', saturnio 'Saturnian', plenilunio 'plenilune'. Characteristically, most words containing these suffixes are learned.

For the sake of completeness, a third possible source of [lj] and [nj] must be mentioned. This is provided by stems ending in either -li or -ni. When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to such stems, the final i becomes [j] and gives rise to [lj] or [nj]. Such stems, however, seem to be extremely rare: only coni- (as in coniare [konjá:re] 'to coin') readily comes to mind.

Quite obviously, the relative rarity of [lj] and [nj] in Italian is largely due to the already quoted development from Proto-Romance whereby all such sequences which existed at that stage have come down to modern Italian as λ and ɲ respectively, as in figlia < filia and in vigna < vinea. Hence, the already mentioned learned nature of most words, other than verb forms, containing [lj] and [nj].

Minimal pairs based on the oppositions [λλ] vs. [lj] and [ɲɲ] vs. [nj] are naturally most likely to consist of verb forms, since of suffixes beginning with [j] -iámo and -iáte have the greatest freedom and frequency of occurrence. It is, however, doubtful whether, even including rare and literary words, more than a score of minimal pairs can be found. Apart from those already quoted, we can mention:

agnello [aɲɲéλλo] 'lamb' vs. Aniello [anjéλλo] (an uncommon proper noun)

campagna [kam·páɲɲa] 'country(side)' vs. Campania [kam·pá:nja] (a region)

Oglio [óλλo] (name of a river) vs. olio [ó:ljo] 'oil'

svegliamo [zveλλá:mo] 'we awake' vs. sveliamo [zveljá:mo] 'we reveal'

Consider also:

l'Italia [l itá:lja] 'the Italy' vs. li taglia [li tálla] 'he cuts them'

la vigna [la viñña] 'the vineyard' vs. Lavinia [laví:nja] 'Lavinian'

In short, if [λλ] and [ññ] were to merge with [lj] and [nj], the resulting semantic confusion would be quite small, consisting only in the rise of a few homophones. That such a merging has so far not taken place in Florentine is certainly due in part to the influence of the spelling,¹⁰ but there is another factor which has probably contributed in maintaining the awareness of these oppositions. In Italian, stressed vowels are automatically long in an open syllable before a short consonant, and automatically short before a long consonant.¹¹ Therefore, in those words where the stress falls on the vowel immediately preceding one of the sequences under consideration, [λλ] and [ññ] are preceded by a short vowel, whereas [lj] and [nj] are preceded by a long one. Consider a pair of the type [kam.páñña] vs. [kam.pá:nja]. The difference here is not only in the consonants, but also in the short [a] of [kam.páñña] vs. the [a:] of [kam.pá:nja]. Although vowel length is not phonemic in Italian, this concomitant difference in the duration of the vowel certainly plays a role in preventing the obliteration of these oppositions. This, of course, does not apply to those words, such as [voλλá:mo] and [voljá:mo], where the stress falls on the vowel following the sequences under consideration.

The marginal character of the oppositions which have been discussed in this paper is reflected also by the fact that [λλ] and [lj], and [ññ] and [nj] are not kept apart in certain regional varieties of Italian.¹² It is an empirically known fact that this in no way hinders oral communication among speakers of different varieties.

Leaving aside the varieties of Italian on which this writer does not have at present sufficient first hand data, mention will be made of the situation found in the variety of Italian spoken (alongside the native language of the region, Piedmontese) in the city of Turin and most of western Piedmont.¹³ In this variety, henceforth referred to as Turin Italian, the words vogliamo and voliamo are pronounced exactly alike. Similarly, there is no difference between cognato and coniato, or campagna and Campania. In fact, school children (and often adults as well) have difficulty in remembering whether a word is spelled with gl or li, or with gn or ni.¹⁴ In Turin Italian, as ordinarily spoken by persons of all levels of education, there are no instances of a contrast between [λλ] and [lj], or between [ññ] and [nj]. One can then analyze Turin Italian without having to set up the phonemes /λ/ and /ñ/, since they would not contrast with the sequences [lj] and [nj].

In Turin Italian pronunciation, the /λ/ and /ñ/ of standard Italian are not long intervocalically. Therefore, to Florentine, say, [fílla], corresponds Turin Italian [fí:la] which can be phonemicized as /fília/, where the group /l/ plus unstressed /i/ is, before a vowel, a sound phonetically quite close to Italian [λ],

except that it never occurs long. Both vogliamo and voliamo, being pronounced identically in Turin, can be phonemically transcribed as /voliámo/. It would, of course, be possible to phonemicize Turin Italian [fí:la] as /fíla/, and Turin Italian [koŋá:to] (for Florentine [koŋŋá:to]) as /koŋáto/, thereby setting up the phonemes /λ/ and /ñ/ for Turin Italian as well. This, however, besides being contrary to the principle of economy, would also obscure the important fact that two oppositions of standard Italian are absent from this variety.

The absence of /λ/ and /ñ/ in Turin Italian (or, rather, the fact that [λ] and [ñ] do not contrast with [lj] and [nj]) can be ascribed to two main factors, namely (a) the low yield in standard Italian of the oppositions discussed above, and (b) the interference of Piedmontese, the native language of the region, in which such oppositions are not present.¹⁵

Notes

1. See for example Malmberg 1942-43, Castellani 1956, Arce 1962, Francescato 1962, Lepschy 1964 and 1966, and Franceschi 1965.
2. A disturbing recrudescence of purism, involving also some otherwise reputable scholars, has recently led to a mushrooming of manuals purporting to teach the "correct" pronunciation; on this, see Lepschy's very sensible comments (1966, pp. 60-69).
3. R. A. Hall Jr. regards [s] and [z] as allophones (1948, p. 9), but see also his later article on this subject (1960). Among recent studies, see especially Romeo 1966 and Court 1967. Practically all linguists from Italy have so far regarded [s] and [z] as separate phonemes.
4. See especially Franceschi 1965 and Francescato 1962.
5. R. A. Hall Jr. regards [j] and [w] as allophones of [i] and [u] respectively (1948, p. 7). Not so Castellani 1956, p. 450.
6. On Italian phonemes and orthography, see Hall 1944.
7. The phonetic transcription adopted in this paper is somewhat simplified as compared to that used by Hall in his Descriptive Italian Grammar. [:] marks vocalic length; consonant length is indicated by doubling; consonants followed by [·] are "half long" (Camilli's "grado medio"). Certain subphonemic features, irrelevant for the present purposes, are omitted for the sake of simplicity.
8. My thanks are due to Mrs. Paola Dombrowski and Mrs. Cecilia Mattii, both of whom are native Florentines and have kindly served as my informants for the pronunciation of words quoted in this paper.
9. See Rohlfs 1966, p. 396 and p. 399.

10. Instances of failure on the part of Florentine speakers to keep these distinctions, however, have been reported by Castellani 1956, p. 447.
11. See Camilli 1965, pp. 66-67.
12. The term regional variety is used here to refer to the Italian language as spoken in one or the other region of the country. It does not refer to local or regional so-called dialects, which sometimes (as in the case of, say, Piedmontese) are rather separate languages, at least from a practical point of view. Regional varieties of Italian have arisen and acquired importance chiefly during the last hundred years as a result of the spread of spoken Italian after the political unification of the country. As a field of inquiry, they have so far been sadly neglected.
13. For a description of the phonology of Turin Italian, see Clivio 1967, pp. 225-256.
14. These uncertainties are reflected in some cases even by the standard spelling. For example, while familiare is the more usual form, famigliare is also correct. Both forms are from famiglia 'family'. There is uncertainty between bigliardo and biliardo, biglia and bilia, etc.
15. For a description of Piedmontese phonology, see Clivio 1967, pp. 161-220.

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THE INFLUENCE OF DOSTOEVSKIJ ON
MAJAKOVSKIJ'S POEM "ПРО ЭТО"

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Shortly before Majakovskij started working on the poem "Про Это," he wrote to his family, requesting that he be sent his copy of Dostoevskij's Crime and Punishment. Majakovskij's appreciation of Dostoevskij is generally acknowledged, despite the poet's notorious statement belonging to his early Futurist period that "Pushkin, Tolstoj, and Dostoevskij are to be thrown off the ship of modernity." In his subsequent letters and notes Majakovskij repeatedly praised Dostoevskij as a "great realist," a courageous "God-fighter," and referred to the Russian classic as his "first love."

The influence of Dostoevskij on the poem "Про Это" is quite striking. Various scholars have suggested that the very title of the poem is borrowed from Crime and Punishment. The phrase "про это" appears several times in the conversations between Raskol'nikov and Sonja, and every time it is written in italics. The following quotes are from the episode where Raskol'nikov comes to Sonja to reveal his terrible secret:

"Так как же вы про это знаете?" - опять чуть слышно спросила она...

А между тем теперь, только что он ей сказал это, ей вдруг и показалось, что и действительно она как будто это самое и предчувствовала.

"Странная какая ты, Соня - обнимаешь и целуешь меня, когда я сказал тебе про это." [pp. 428-430]

Dostoevskij is deliberately ambiguous in using this key phrase. Neither Raskol'nikov nor Sonja call the thing by its direct name, and it is quite clear that they do so not in order to be euphemistic, but because they both feel a great sense of awe before something sacred. One recalls the dots which Majakovskij substitutes for the word "love" in the introduction to "Про Это." On the surface it seems that the sense in which Majakovskij uses the phrase is diametrically opposed to Dostoevskij - love vs. murder. Yet one can cite the revealing episode which preceeds Raskol'nikov's confession to the police. Talking to his sister Dunja, he says:

"О, если б я был один и никто не любил меня, и сам бы я никогда никого не любил! Не было бы всего этого!" [p. 545]

Here sacrificial love is clearly suggested as the motive for murder.

Among the manifold and complex motives for Raskol'nikov's crime, the author dwells at length on the hero's intense love toward those close to him. This love creates in him the desire to ease their hard lot by killing and robbing a rich and useless old woman. Raskol'nikov's personal love is rationalized and extended to love of humanity at large. In his perverse way he feels that, by committing the murder, he will perform a symbolic act of destroying evil, for which he will have to pay the price of suffering.

Like Dostoevskij, Majakovskij in his poem shows two kinds of love - personal and general. His hero loves a particular woman, but in the long run he is concerned with love in abstract, love without a specific object, which creates an urgent need for self-sacrifice. In the early drafts of the poem, Majakovskij intended to involve his hero in an actual murder of his beloved.

И вижу не глазом а как то иначе
Как видел тогда насквозь на Неве

Ломает руки ломает и плачет
Затихла а если это навек

Убивший любовь не успевший и вылезти
Я рвусь.... [p. 358]

The murder of the poet's beloved is a symbolic act of killing possessive, selfish love in order to make the world a freer and happier place.

земной любви искупителем значась,...
за всех расплачусь,
за всех расплачусь.— [p. 172]

In the final version of the poem the issue is toned down, and the murder figures as a part of a nightmare of the hero exhausted by jealousy and passion.

The section of the poem containing the nightmare is called "No Way Out" ("Деваться некуда"). In this connection one may recall the episode from Crime and Punishment where Raskol'nikov, getting ready for the murder, suddenly remembers old Marmeladov's often-quoted words: "There is no place to go" ("идти больше некуда"). These words reflect a feeling of total despair which is common to Raskol'nikov and to the hero-poet of "Про Это."

Although ostensibly Raskol'nikov hates the object of his crime while Majakovskij's hero loves his, the imagery, the emotional tone, and the pervading sense of delirium in the final version of the murder scene in "Про Это" correspond very closely to the murder scene in Crime and Punishment. Majakovskij actually mentions Raskol'nikov by name.

Так с топором влезают в сон,
обметят спящелобых —
и сразу
исчезает всё,
И видишь только обух.
Так барабаны улиц
в сон
войдут,
и сразу вспомнится,
что вот тоска
и угол вон,
за ним
она —
виновница. [p. 166]

Не молкнет в сердце боль никак,
кует к звену звено.

Вот так,
 убив,
 Раскольников
пришел звенеть в звонок.
Гостьё идет по лестнице...
Ступеньки бросил —
 стенкою.

Стараюсь в стенку вплеснуться,.... [p. 167]

Majakovskij's scene condenses and paraphrases the following episodes from Dostoevskij's novel. Prior to the murder, Raskol'nikov has a dream about a savage beating of a horse. He wakes up and thinks:

"...неужели ж я в самом деле возьму топор, стану бить по голове, разможу ей череп..." [p. 65]

In a dream subsequent to the murder, Raskol'nikov returns to the scene of the crime.

...странным показалось ему, что он не помнит, как мог очутиться на улице... он вошел тут сейчас на первую лестницу... осторожно отвел он рукою салоп и увидал, что тут стоит стул, а на стуле в уголку сидит старушонка... он бросился бежать, но вся прихожая уже полна людей, двери на лестнице отворены настежь, и на площадке, на лестнице и туда вниз - всё люди... Сердце его стеснилось, ноги не движутся, приросли....
[pp. 286-88]

Finally, there are several episodes in the novel where Raskol'nikov, in a state of shock, returns to his victim's apartment and senselessly rings the doorbell, exposing himself to the danger of being suspected by people walking the staircase.

Thinking in terms of Dostoevskij's influence on Majakovskij's imagery, one cannot avoid noticing the urban landscapes. Dostoevskij's readers are familiar with the detailed descriptions of the ugly Petersburg tenement houses - the "stone bags" as they are called in Russian. Majakovskij's poem echoes these descriptions.

Нет,
 нйкни к стённой сырости.
И стих
 и дни не те.
Морозят камни.
 Дрожь могил.
И редко ходят веники.
Плевками,
 снявши башмаки,
вступаю на ступеньки. [pp. 166-167]

The poem is full of images of empty snow-covered city squares, dark menacing buildings, an icy river, nightmarish sunsets à la Dostoevskij. For example:

Мальчик шел, в закат глаза уставя.
Был закат непревзойдимо желт.
Даже снег желтел к Тверской заставе.
Ничего не видя, мальчик шел. [p. 155]
Домами оскалила скāлы далекость.
Ни люда, ни заставы нет.
Горят снега,
и гдло. [p. 159]

Ногам вперекор,
тормозами на быстрые
вставали стены, окнами выстроаясь. [p. 159]
С Невы не сводит глаз,
продрог,
стоит и ждет—
помогут. [p. 160]

The bleak panorama unfolds before the hero's eyes as he roams the city in a half-delirious state, resembling the characters of Dostoevskij, not only from Crime and Punishment, but from other works as well. The short story Weak Heart may be quoted as an example. In it, the protagonist, Arkadij, stands on a bridge at sunset:

Ночь ложилась над городом, и вся необъятная, вспухшая от замерзшего снега поляна Невы, с последним отблеском солнца, осыпалась бесконечными мириадами искр иглистого инея. ...словно великаны, со всех кровель обеих набережных подымались и неслись вверх по холодному небу столпы дыма,...так что, казалось, новые здания вставали над старыми, новый город складывāлся в воздухе...
[pp. 560-561]

And here, once more, is Crime and Punishment:

На Николаевском мосту ему [Раскольникову] пришлось еще раз вполне очнуться вследствие одного весьма неприятного для него случая. Его плотно хлестнул кнутом по спине кучер одной коляски за то, что он чуть-чуть не попал под лошадей... неизвестно почему он шел по самой середине моста, где ездят, а не ходят.... Кругом, разумеется, раздался смех.... По платью и по виду они очень могли принять его за нищего.... [pp. 119-120]

Majakovskij, under a strong spell of the above scene, creates something similar:

Парк Петровский.
Бегу.
Ходынка

за мной.
 Впереди Тверской простыня.
 А-у-у-у!
 К Садовой аж выкинул "у"!
 Оглоблей
 или машиной,
 но только
 мордой
 аршин в снегу.
 Пулей слова матершины.
 "От нэпа ослеп?!
 Для чего глаза впряжены?!
 Эй, ты!
 Мать твою разнэп!
 Ряженный!" [p. 154]

Majakovskij's hero is humiliated and insulted, and immediately after this experience he has a vision in which his double (or, rather, one of his doubles) commits suicide. This episode reflects the hallucination of one of Dostoevskij's characters. It begins thus:

Вон
 от заставы
 идет человечек.
 За шагом шаг вырастает короткий.
 Луна
 голову вправила в венчик. [p. 155]

In Dostoevskij's tale The Double, the mentally unstable Mr. Goljadkin, having been insulted by his boss, finds himself roaming the city streets in a blizzard, and suddenly beholds his double:

Перед ним опять, шагах в двадцати от него, чернелся какой-то быстро приближавшийся к нему человечек. Человечек этот спешил, частил, торопился; расстояние быстро уменьшалось. ... Незнакомец остановился... свет близ стоявшего фонаря совершенно падал на всю фигуру его,.... [p. 253]

Psychologically, neither the hero of Majakovskij's poem nor his youthful double have much in common with Mr. Goljadkin. Yet the visual similarity of the two descriptions is startling.

The image of the Christlike youth whom Majakovskij calls "savior" is quite enigmatic. He vanishes from the poem as suddenly as he appears, and his suicide is deliberately left unexplained.

Для чего?
 Зачем?
 Кому? [p. 156]

One of Dostoevskij's works which Majakovskij reread several times was the Writer's Diary. In it the author devotes many

related in one particular work of Dostoevskij, which is very likely to have influenced the finale of "Про Это." The hero of Dostoevskij's tale Dream of a Ridiculous Man is a man with a "beautiful soul" who has no place in everyday life among petty and mean people. His Weltschmerz and the sense of "no way out" drive him to contemplating suicide, in a rather peculiar way:

Я...взглянул на небо. ...явно можно было различить разорванные облака, а между ними бездонные черные пятна. Вдруг я заметил в одном из этих пятен звездочку и стал пристально глядеть на нее. Это потому, что эта звездочка дала мне мысль: я положил в эту ночь убить себя. [p. 422]

But, instead of suicide, he has a dream in which he takes a flight through the starry space, and lands on a planet very similar to earth, only the people inhabiting it live in perfect peace, harmony with nature, and mutual love. When he awakes, he feels that he has been enlightened by a new faith and given a purpose in life--to preach universal love, although he knows he will be ridiculed by the Philistines.

Я иду проповедовать, я хочу проповедовать,—что? Истину, ибо я видел ее, видел своими глазами,....

О, я бодр, я свеж, я иду, иду, и хотя бы на тысячу лет.

Но вот этого насмешники и не понимают: "Сон, дескать, видел, бред, галлюцинация". [pp. 439-441]

And here is the way Majakovskij treats the theme of the "ridiculous" man in "Про Это:"

Давно посетителям осточертело.

Знают заранее

всё, как по нотам:

буду звать

(новое дело!)

куда-то идти,

спасать кого-то. [p. 172]

Сажённый,

обсмеянный, ...

Пойду,

пойду, куда ни вело б,... [p. 173]

Пусть во что хотите жданья удлинятся—

вижу ясно,

ясно до галлюцинаций. [p. 181]

The imagery of the space flight in Majakovskij is strongly colored by that of Dostoevskij who writes:

Мы неслись в темных и неведомых пространствах. ... И

вдруг какое-то знакомое и в высшей степени зовущее
 чувство сотрясло меня: я увидел вдруг наше солнце!
 ... Но мы быстро приближались к планете. ... Я...
 стал на этой другой земле в ярком свете солнечного,
 прелестного, как рай, дня. [pp. 430-431]

Majakovskij reverberates:

В пространство!
 Пристальной!
 Солнце блеснит горы.
 Дни улыбаются с пристани.
 Пристает ковчег.
 Сюда лучами!
 Пристань.
 Эй!
 Кидай канат ко мне! [pp. 177-178]

Because of their imaginative projection of life into an other-planetary utopia, both writers treat death in a figurative way. To both death means the emancipation of the spirit, the extinction of the old ego, and the restoration of the split personality to one harmonious whole.

Critics speak of the "polyphony of ideas" in Dostoevskij. His works contain portraits of passionate idealists, egocentrics, murderers, suicides, victims of society, etc. The actions of these characters are motivated by their various philosophies and convictions and justified as different ways of seeking truth and happiness. Often the mind and soul of one man are shown to be the battlefield for the conflicting philosophies of life. Majakovskij's "Про Это" is also constructed on the polyphonic principle. The hero has several conflicting doubles and incarnations: an idealist who believes in universal love and happiness, a murderer driven mad by passion, a suicide, a Philistine smug and satisfied with his life, a moral judge (man on the bridge)--the conscience of the poet. The fundamental difference of Majakovskij's method is that he treats the themes and characters irrationally, without logical motivations of plot, without philosophical digressions and generalizations, borrowing images and devices from Dostoevskij for emotional and aesthetic impact.

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The third play of Suxovo-Kobylin's Trilogy is a farce held together loosely by a thin plot. In the preceding play, Tarelkin, a petty official, has been swindled out of a substantial bribe by his chief, Varravin, and decides to blackmail him. He has stolen some compromising letters from Varravin, and as the play opens, he is about to fake suicide in order to disappear into the safe new identity of a deceased neighbor, Sila Silič Kopylov. The change is complete once he removes his wig and false teeth. Tarelkin is found out, however, and the authorities come to the absurd conclusion that since both Kopylov and Tarelkin are officially dead, the man they have arrested must be a vampire¹ who has killed them both and assumed their identities, a creature who may even be part of a whole band of vampires. As the investigators Ox and Raspljuev exit to engulf all of Russia in their grotesque interrogations, Tarelkin simply asks Varravin for his passport and some money, receives both, and exits. The composition of the play is very much in the manner of Gogol's theater, where the plot describes a circle, returning to its initial situation after frenetic activity on stage. By ignoring dramatic interest, Suxovo-Kobylin removes attention from it to the far more expansive vision of a grotesque world. Motifs are introduced only to snowball to all-encompassing proportions, then they are left hanging in the air. Tarelkin's first quick-change into Kopylov is based on the reason of expediency. The same motive prompts Varravin to dress as Polutatarinov, a creditor, so he can look for his letters incognito. In the second act identities become blurred. A laundress named Ljudmila Brandaxlystova shows up, and although she admits that Tarelkin does not look like Kopylov, she nevertheless accepts him as her former lover and the alleged father of her children. After Varravin and Raspljuev forcibly put his wig and false teeth back in place, Tarelkin looks like his passport description, but he is still carrying Kopylov's papers; the investigator Raspljuev solves this conundrum by refusing to recognize him as either one:

У нас в квартире жили двое... Как следует жили, умерли и в землю зарыты. . . . Двое эти — один! — и этот один жив! Выходец с того света — оборотень, вуйдалак, упырь и мцерь. [II, 8]

Even though Varravin realizes what Tarelkin has been up to, he still refuses to recognize him and explains to Raspljuev that he must be a vampire:

Он уже мертвый . . . но питаться злаками или чем другим не может, ибо это уже будет пищеварение, а какое у него там черт пищеварение: а потому и питается он теплою... человеческою... кровью. . . . (подходя в это время тихо к Тарелкину.) Теперь, змея, ты у меня в руках! [II, 7]

To all intents and purposes Tarelkin's identity is obliterated, and he becomes linked to an over-all theme of vampirism and metamorphosis. A second metamorphosis is strongly indicated, for Raspljuev replaces the Tarelkin of Дело as an investigating official. While the first two acts of Смерть Тарелкина begin with

a monologue by Tarelkin--the first, proclaiming his death, the second, his happiness at being dead--the third act begins with a monologue by Raspljuev, exalting in his new position as chief investigator of the vampire affair. Raspljuev is also given a catch phrase closely linked to Tarelkin and his faked suicide; he frequently uses the oath, "Хоть ложись и умирай!" With newly acquired power, Raspljuev expands the charge of vampirism and metamorphosis to cover all of Russia. He and Ox march off to conduct the investigation further, and Tarelkin has only to ask in order to receive what he wanted in the first place; he goes free as the moneyed Kopylov. What began as a farcically grotesque change of masks, a means to an end, has extended and multiplied itself throughout the world on stage until everyone has been implicated in metamorphosis, and it makes no difference who changes into what; one person can be replaced by another, for all are equally grotesque.

Смерть Тарелкина is the only completely grotesque play of the Trilogy. In creating such a work Suxovo-Kobylin expands and intensifies his previous grotesque material. Such a character as Raspljuev, the only non-realistic character in Свадьба Кречинского, reappears in Смерть Тарелкина where his canine attributes and gluttony are developed to lycanthropy and a truly insatiable appetite:

Я вам про себя скажу. Отчего я человеком стал? Голод пронял. Доложу вам — желудок мой особой конструкции: не то, что волк, а волкан, то есть три волка. Он кашит — меру просит, а ему падают наперсток; вот я и взалкал — до иступления. Хожу по улицам да зубами и щелкаю . . . буду, мол, усерден, буду и ревностен; только душу-то вы мою, святые угодники и архистратиги, из этого ада изведите... Вот они меня и извели да к вам и пристроили.
[III, 2]

In Дело the use of intestinal disorders and of drinking water for relief were associated with the grotesque officialdom. The Prince had hemorrhoids, was always drinking soda water, and even Muromskij, as if infected by the nearness of the official world, asked for water just before he handed over the bribe to Varravin. Now it is precisely by withholding water from Tarelkin because it would give him strength as a vampire that Raspljuev and Varravin torture him. Dr. Unmëglixkejt, learning that water is prohibited to the prisoner, prescribed as just as beneficent "assa foetida, Teufelsdreck, шёртого навоз." A considerably more vulgar peculiarity has by implication been appended to Raspljuev. He receives an embellishment found in Policinello of the Commedia dell'Arte; he comes as close as nineteenth century decorum would allow to breaking wind on stage. In the eighteenth century farce Polichinelle demandant une place à l'Académie the title character is thus described:

Between each sentence, our hero, faithful to his unclean habits, coughs, spits, and 'f....' (it is true that Molière in Les Femmes savantes also used this last word which is suppressed nowadays and replaced by a variant).²

At the funeral dinner a telling conversation takes place between Tarelkin and Raspljuev concerning the latter's stomach grumblings:

Тарелкин. А я смотрю, может у вас днище выперло?
— так не проходит ли насквозь?

Расплюев. (встряхиваясь на стуле.) Нет, сударь, у меня крепко, не пройдет. Вы слышали, у Паганини хорош был инструмент? Ну, у меня лучше. Об этом инструменте расскажу вам... историю: прихожу я это в трактир: стросил калач, чаю: — вот у меня инструмент мой и заиграл: — песни такие — ну! стало, мол, работы просит. Делать нечего: — подай, говорю, ветчины порцию, икорки порцию, водки по препорции. [II, 2]

If it is possible to say so, Suxovo-Kobylin also carries one of his own talents into the sphere of the grotesque. An outstanding trait of his first two plays is their realistic language. In Смерть Тарелкина the linguistic range is expanded to include language which does deliberate injury to standard Russian. The мушкатёры Kačala and Šatala both speak a fairly well-developed dialect of Russian. Dr. Unmëglixkejt speaks a mutilated, Germanized Russian.

The particular grotesque of Смерть Тарелкина also relies on the perversion of previous subject matter for its effect. Formerly realistic scenes and characters are parodied; originally comic atmosphere is perverted; scenes of pathos are vulgarized and mocked. The degeneration can be seen clearly in the treatment of romantic love. In Свадьба Кречинского, although there is a sarcastic undercurrent, the love plot is treated seriously; in Дело there are smearing allusions to pimping, a love affair, an illegitimate child and infanticide. In Смерть Тарелкина Brandaxlystova personifies these allusions. She lives with anyone, her children are illegitimate, and she does not care if her neighbor kills them, if only that "стервотинка" answers to the police for it. The highly pathetic fourth act of Дело where the Muromskijs pool their resources to make up Varravin's bribe is parodied in the ludicrous складчина of the officials in Смерть Тарелкина.

In his two previous plays, Suxovo-Kobylin showed great ingenuity at inventing and sustaining dramatic intrigues and at manipulating the audience's sympathy. In Смерть Тарелкина neither talent is applied. The play is meant to lack the compact strikingness of Свадьба Кречинского and the singular emotional impact of Дело. Conflicts exist in a grotesque world only nominally and neat dénouements are just as impossible as sympathy or understanding for any of its characters. Suxovo-Kobylin is describing a slice of grotesque life wherein one element multiplies itself ad infinitum and where the expanse of a greater grotesque world is meant to be felt. He makes the play progress through a chain of farcical vaudeville scenes to which the basic plot gives rise and in which it is eventually engulfed. It is interesting that this play has the greatest number of monologues, asides and direct addresses to the audience; these provide, however, neither psychological insight, nor, save one of Tarelkin's asides,³ any witty conspiracy between audience and actor. They set up the intended situation or attract attention to the activity on stage. Tarelkin's first monologue, in effect, tells us the whole plot of the play. This running commentary to almost

everything that happens on stage actually serves to separate plot and action and to draw the audience's attention exclusively to the activity on stage--a vision of hilarious, unrelieved grotesque.

The Plautus Tradition. Constant pointing to what is going on on stage and frequent recapitulation of plot are elements often found in the comedies of Plautus. Many Plautian comedies are accompanied by a prologue which gives the source of the play, its setting, and the Vorgeschichte. It is usually delivered by one of Plautus' scheming slaves who, in the prologue as elsewhere, explains and recapitulates his stratagems to the audience. Miles Gloriosus provides a good example of such devices. The title character, Captain Pyrgopolinices, has carried off Philocomasium, a courtesan, while Pleusicles, her lover, was away in another country. Pleusicles' slave, Palaestrio, set out to tell his master but was himself captured by pirates and resold to Pyrgopolinices. Having discovered Philocomasium with the Captain, he sent for his master and then dug an opening in the wall between the Captain's house and the neighboring one, so that the lovers could meet secretly. When the play begins, Sceledrus, another slave assigned to keep an eye on Philocomasium, has just seen the two lovers from a roof and is about to report this to his master. By shuttling Philocomasium back and forth between the two houses, Palaestrio convinces Sceledrus that he has seen Philocomasium's twin sister, and by playing on the Captain's vanity, he persuades him to dismiss Philocomasium in favor of his neighbor's young wife who is supposedly pining away with love for him. Philocomasium is dismissed with many presents, the lovers are reunited, and Pyrgopolinices gets a sound thrashing in his neighbor's house. The central ruse of the plot, the fact that Philocomasium will pretend to be twins and go back and forth between the houses, is repeated several times, Palaestrio in the prologue places particular stress on this for the benefit of the audience:

And just to keep you from confusion later on, this girl . . . will soon take the parts of two girls, appearing as one from this house and one from . . . that--the same girl, mind you, but pretending to be another one. That is how her guard will be made game of.⁴

At the end of the act, the scheme is again mentioned and its cleverness, admired. When Palaestrio decides to use another courtesan to play up to the Captain, the scheme is mapped out for the characters involved, explained in detail to each, admired, and commented on in later scenes. Characters not only tell the audience what they are going to do but even ask for their collusion:

Lucrio: I'm done for. Master'll torture me once he comes home and finds this out . . . I'll run away somewhere, by gad, and postpone my punishment for a while. (to the audience) Don't you tell him, for heaven's sake.⁵

Milphidippa: The circus where I must do my tricks is in front of the house now. I'll pretend not to see them or to know they're here yet.⁶

Some of the same instances occur in Смерть Тарелкина. At one point in his initial monologue, Tarelkin describes the good fortune of his neighbor's death in these terms:

Случай: на квартире рядом живут двое: Тарелкин и Копылов. Тарелкин должен, — Копылов не должен. Судьба говорит: Умри, Копылов, и живи, Тарелкин. . . . индюшка ты, судьба! Умри лучше Тарелкин, а живи счастливый Копылов. (Подумав.) Решено!.. Умер Тарелкин!
[I, 1]

He speaks of himself in the third person much like a Plautian slave delivering the prologue to the audience; even the passage "рядом живут двое" recalls the stereotyped Roman stage setting of two neighboring houses. Later in the play, Raspljuev describes his befuddlement at Tarelkin's double identity in very much the same words, and in the next scene Ox goes over it again in a monologue:

У нас в квартире жили двое. . . . Как следует жили, умерли, и в землю зарыты. . . . Двое эти один! — и этот один жив?! . [II, 8]

Стало, действительно, что называется казус! Жили двое (думает) — оба умерли — убиты, что ли? Явился один — и этот один жив — черт возьми — даже лоб трещит. [II, 9]

When Varravin first appears on stage, he tells the audience in an aside precisely what he thinks and what he intends to do, in part repeating information which Tarelkin has already covered in his monologue.

. . . Пропали у меня секретнейшие бумаги, — стало, украдены — украдены кем? Им?! . И вдруг умер! Нет ли тут еще какой-нибудь мерзости?! . Делать нечего — похоронить его и потом отыскать, во что бы то ни стало, отыскать эти бумаги! [I, 7]

In the same scene Varravin sets up the officials' складчина like a stage director, then he stands back to admire it and draw attention to its pathos.

(Любуясь на картину.) Прекрасно! По-братски! Вот истинная община! . . . (к публике.) Какая теплота, какой жар!.. даже удерживать надо. [I, 7]

At other times, after certain of Varravin's more florid descriptions, Raspljuev himself goes into raptures of admiration at his way with words.

Варравин. . . . если у вас где-нибудь — в хлеве или подвале — свинья, и так, не большая и не сытая, — но вообще свинья — околеет, то ведь вы не скажете, что у меня, мол, в подвале человек дух испустил.

Расплjueв. (хохочет.) Однако он это хорошо вонзил!
[II, 6]

Варравин. . . . Начинайте с маленьких да мельеньких — тихонько да легонько, а там и развивайте, и подымайтесь выше да шире, шире да выше, да когда разовьется да запутается — так тут

и лови! . . . хочешь честь или хочешь есть!

Расплюев. (в восторге.) У-у... слова! Золотые слова!
[II, 11]

Gustaw Przychocki in his study on Plautus states that one of the functions of monologues was to create something like a division into acts.

Plautus' comedies abound in monologues . . . Just as in all the 'new comedy', the monologue in Plautus plays first of all an important role in the composition of his comedies--namely in the division of the action into certain phases, which today are usually called acts. . . . Plautus was the more willing to do this, because such a monologue, standing as it does at the beginning or at the end of a given 'act,' could often tell the audience what was going to happen or recapitulate what had happened; thus it became one more way to facilitate the audience's understanding and experience of the play.⁷

The use to which Plautus puts the monologue is another avenue by which the comedy-writer deals with the problem of explaining plot information to the audience and of drawing the audience into involvement, even outright participation in the play. In Смерть Тарелкина Suxovo-Kobylin also uses such a technique to heighten enjoyment of the play, to recapitulate action and explain future action, and to inveigle the audience into some conspiracy or collusion with the actors. There is, however, more to it than this. Suxovo was writing in an entirely different epoch and for an entirely different type of audience. He could have availed himself of any number of more "sophisticated" methods of exposition and foreshadowing, had he chosen to. In such a prologue or monologue a character from the play steps slightly out of his role and says things to the audience which can just as well be transmitted within the confines of the play. The actor assumes the added dimension of guide or onlooker while at the same time performing his role in the play: he underscores for the benefit of the audience a particularly humorous piece of dialogue, a particularly ingenious scheme, or a particularly ludicrous personage. There is extreme concentration on the *comic moment*. First this passes before the audience as part of the play, thereafter follows a momentary pause while an actor goes over it again, points it out, admires it; then the course of the play is resumed. Plot information and Vorgeschichte which is explained before the action even begins leaves the audience unconcerned about *what* is happening so that they can enjoy to the limit *how* it is being carried off.

Смерть Тарелкина is the most Gogolian of Suxovo's three plays, at the same time the dramatist pads out its sketchy plot with types, scenes and devices taken piecemeal from the whole arsenal of western comedy. Analysis of the traditions of this комедия-шутка gives the impression of a patch-work quilt, a completely appropriate selection for depicting the panoramic world of Antichrist.

Notes

1. There is a metaphoric basis for this charge when in a final confession Tarelkin admits his complicity in extorting bribe money from Muromskij in the play Дело:
Расплюев: Ты у меня не вертись. Кого вы уморили?
Тарелкин: Муромского уморили.
Расплюев: Что же, кровь высосали?
Тарелкин: Да, всю кровь высосали. [III, 11]
2. Ludovic Celler, Les Types populaires au théâtre. (Paris, 1870), p. 31.
3. Смерть Тарелкина. [I, 10]
4. Plautus, vol. III, trans. Paul Nixon (London, 1957), p. 137.
5. Ibid., [III, 2].
6. Ibid., [IV, 2].
7. Gustaw Przychocki, Plautus. (Kraków, 1925), pp. 250-251.

ST. AUGUSTINE ON LANGUAGE

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*Baym gantsn derekh-eretz tsu di dergreykhungen fun 19tn
un 20stn yorhundert afn gebit fun farglaykhike historishe
shtudies hobn mir keyn shum rekht nit tsu fargesn di
prakhtike tsushtayers fun di eltste forshers, onheybndik
mitn Heylikn Oygunstin....* Roman Jakobson¹

Ever since man adopted a reflective attitude towards his environment and ceased to take everything in it for granted, the fact that things have names was bound to be an unfailing source of wonder. It is because names are available that we can talk, and talk about things not present. This simple phenomenon with its far-reaching consequences and nebulous origin supplies ample material to occupy the life-long reflection of a philosopher, ancient or modern.

Names are clearly essential to human language as we know it. Whether a language-like system could be devised in the absence of names, might be an interesting question for the philosopher to ask. It seems that gestures can do a lot. It must be observed, though, that to the extent that they come to stand for classes of objects and become convention, that is, to the extent the communication they achieve resembles that of ordinary language, these gestures are indeed nothing else than names for the things they refer to.

The conception of language as a set of labels to be stuck onto the objects of our experience is sometimes ridiculed and disparaged as irretrievably trivial. It is quite true that as a purportedly adequate picture of language this conception fails in many ways, but, all the same, it should be realized that, in its own right, the concept of names is by no means a trivial one.

If it really were such an utterly trivial thing, it would not have obstructed the philosophers' view to a deeper understanding of language; yet precisely its rewarding richness partially accounts for the appeal of the temptation to consider language a mere collection of names, a temptation which many philosophers in all times have fallen a prey to. It was all the more easy to indulge in this error, since, from the oldest times, the quest for the nature of language has taken the form of an inquiry into its origin. (Compare the function of the numerous birth stories in Buddhism, Greek mythology, Judaism and Christianity: knowledge of the origin of a person or institution is taken to be the shortest path to the understanding of his or its true nature and role.) And the origin of language and the origin of names appear inextricably tied together.

It is against this background that we must view the ancient discussions on the "inherent correctness of names." (There is no reason to suppose that these discussions were confined to Hellenistic thinkers; see, e.g., Gen. 2:19 for the outcome of some such discussion among Jewish philosophers.)

The questions being asked were: Just what is it that ties a name to its object? Is it by virtue of its very nature that an object is called the way it is? Is there a natural way to explain the particular name of a particular object, such that the former can be seen to be intrinsically justified in naming just that which it names? If so, how? And if not, what else than mutual agreement, or convention, could have been instrumen-

tal in the process of name-giving? But how, then, was such an agreement first accomplished?

The most complete early statement of this problem has come down to us in Plato's dialogue Cratylus. Though it is plain enough from the text itself that Plato did not consider the problem solved (as A. N. Whitehead has it, Plato raised all fundamental questions without answering them), he would seem to favor the view that there is indeed a natural relation of some sort between names and what they stand for.

As on so many other issues, Plato's outstanding disciple Aristotle takes a stand quite different from that of his master. As is well known, Aristotle, whom Scholastic tradition revered as "the Logician," was the most influential voice among the early proponents of the Saussurean doctrine of the arbitrary character of the sound — meaning correlation in language. So we read in De Interpretatione, where the same word ὄνομα is used both for 'noun' and 'name':

By a noun we mean a sound significant by convention (κατὰ συνθήκην), which has no reference to time, and of which no part is significant apart from the rest.... The limitation 'by convention' was introduced because nothing is by nature (φύσει) a noun (name), it is only so when it becomes a symbol; inarticulate sounds, such as those which brutes produce, are significant, yet none of these constitutes a noun (name). (De Interpretatione II, translated by E. M. Edghill, in: The Works of Aristotle, Ed. W. D. Ross, Oxford University Pr.)

In the eyes of many medieval philosophers, Aristotle's decisions were all but final. Not so, however, in antiquity. Throughout that period, we find philosophers challenging his position that words are significant by convention only and not by nature. To cite just one example, I will quote from the Attic Nights by Aulus Gellius. This author reports with sympathetic approval a curious and rather charming argument of Nigidius to support the view that "words are natural rather than arbitrary.":

"Publius Nigidius in his Grammatical Notes shows that nouns and verbs were formed, not by a chance use, but by a certain power and design of nature, a subject very popular in the discussions of the philosophers; for they used to inquire whether words originate by 'nature' or are man-made. Nigidius employs many arguments to this end, to show that words appear to be natural rather than arbitrary. Among these the following seems particularly neat and ingenious:

When we say 'vos', we make a movement of the mouth suitable to the meaning of the word; for we gradually protrude the tips of our lips and direct the impulse of the breath towards those with whom we are speaking. But on the other hand, when we say 'nos', we do not pronounce the word with a powerful forward impulse of the voice, nor with the lips protruded, but we restrain our breath and our lips, so to speak, within ourselves. The same thing happens in the words 'tu', 'ego', 'tibi' and 'mihi'. For just as when we assent or dissent, a movement of the head or eyes corresponds with the nature of

the expression, so too in the pronunciation of these words there is a kind of natural gesture made with the mouth and breath. The same principle that we have noted in our own speech, applies also to Greek words. (Translated by John C. Rolfe, Cambridge (Mass), 1927)

Following up this kind of discussion, it would not be out of place to include here some reference to the Epicureans' view of language. But to provide a detailed coverage of the linguistic implications of the Epicurean way of thinking would far exceed the scope of the present essay. A quite interesting, but perhaps oversimplified, account of this school's attitude toward language has been given by Phillip H. de Lacy in his article "The Epicurean Analysis of Language" (American Journal of Philology, 60 (1939), p. 85ff).

In order to convey the general atmosphere of the Epicurean point of view on the nature of names, I will present here a statement by Epicurus (341 - 271 B.C.).

If we rephrase this quotation in present-day terms, we get a surprisingly adequate description of the beliefs of quite a few modern empiricists. And, in fact, the whole empiricist outlook on philosophy is nothing but a revival of ancient Epicureanism.

So too we may suppose that in the beginning words did not receive meaning by design. The natural characters of men who underwent different experiences and received different impressions according to their tribes, caused them to emit air from their lips formed in harmony with each of the experiences and impressions, the men of each tribe differing in their own separate ways as the tribes differed because of their differing environments. But later in each race, by common agreement, men assigned particular meanings to particular sounds so that what they said to each other might be less ambiguous and the meaning be more quickly made clear. When men who had known them introduced certain things not previously seen, they assigned names to them, sometimes being forced instinctively to utter the word, but sometimes making their meaning clear by logically selecting the sound in accordance with the general usage. (Epicurus: Letter to Herodotus, 75-76. Translated by Russel M. Geer.)²

I will turn now to the main topic of this article, the linguistic conceptions of the Church Father Augustine (354 - 430 A.D.).

As every linguist should know, Augustine is the first philosopher to comment on the acquisition of language by the child. Before him, only the issue about the original acquisition of language by the human race was felt worthy of discussion. Once the parents had acquired the ability to speak, it seemed but natural that they found it possible to teach it to their children also.

Now, of course, every question in the world has to have somebody to first put it; still it is hardly accidental that Augustine rather than another should be the one to carry off the

credit for first reflecting on individual language acquisition. Why this is so will be sufficiently clear, I hope, from the next few paragraphs.

The Christian thinker Augustine marks the beginning of a new era in philosophy, as he makes the inner reality of man a subject of eager investigation and frequently directs his mind to the depths of the self. This is why he is sometimes called 'the first modern man in antiquity'. One of the numerous instances of the interest in introspection typical for him is the long and exciting account of the 'fields and roomy chambers of memory' in book X of his *Confessions*, an analysis which is still extremely interesting to read, especially because, in Augustine's conception, "memoria" covers much of what we would prefer to subsume under the general concept of mind.

The assumption that language acquisition is easily accounted for by the teaching of the parents, must have been singularly unattractive to Augustine, since, as we shall see later on, to him the whole concept of teaching was highly problematic.

The passage on language acquisition is found in the *Confessions*, book I, Chapter VIII. It has been quoted in part by L. Wittgenstein on page 2 of his *Philosophical Investigations*. The parts he omits, however, are just as deserving of interest as the one he quotes; I will therefore copy Augustine's small chapter in extenso.

From infancy I came to boyhood, or rather it came to me, taking the place of infancy. Yet infancy did not go: for where was it to go to? Simply it was no longer there. For now I was not an infant, without speech, but a boy, speaking. This I remember; and I have since discovered by observation how I learned to speak. I did not learn by elders teaching me words in any systematic way, as I was soon after taught to read and write. But of my own motion, using the mind which You, my God, gave me, I strove with cries and various sounds and much moving of my limbs to utter the feelings of my heart — all this in order to get my own way. Now I did not always manage to express the right meanings to the right people. So I began to reflect. (I observed that) my elders would make some particular sound, and as they made it would point at or move towards some particular thing: and from this I came to realize that the thing was called by the sound they made when they wished to draw my attention to it. That they intended this was clear from the motions of their body, by a kind of natural language common to all races which consists in facial expressions, glances of the eye, gestures, and the tones by which the voice expresses the mind's state — for example whether things are to be sought, kept, thrown away, or avoided. So, as I heard the same words again and again properly used in different phrases, I came gradually to grasp what things they signified; and forcing my mouth to the same sounds, I began to use them to express my own wishes. Thus I learnt to convey what I meant to those about me; and so took an-

other long step along the stormy way of human life in society, while I was still subject to the authority of my parents and at the beck and call of my elders. (Book I, VIII, translated by F. J. Sheed, London, Sheed & Ward, 1944)

Wittgenstein uses his quotation only to show that Augustine looks at language as a set of names. This is quite true, as we shall see later on, although the quotation itself hardly suffices to establish his claim.

It is interesting to note how Wittgenstein ignores the first part of the quotation. There St. Augustine plainly contradicts Wittgenstein's empiricist theory which tries to account for language acquisition by the child on the basis of mere training. (See *op. cit.* p. 4 and *passim*). For contrasting it with the learning of the alphabet, Augustine emphasizes the fact that the child learns to speak without any systematic teaching on the part of the parents. He is obviously impressed by the greatness of the achievement, and, interestingly, attributes the credit for it not to God, but to the human mind: "ego ipse mente." The major factor in the learning process is the child's own activity, and not some artificial means of training.

A keen interest in linguistic and above all semantic matters remained with the bishop throughout his career. All learning and science he valued to the exact extent that they were useful in gaining a correct understanding of the Scriptures.

In addition to a perfect command of Latin, grammatical knowledge of the sacred languages Greek and Hebrew was certainly most useful: still an abstract study of signifying and symbolizing was equally needed, since in the Scriptures many things are signified in unobvious ways.

To explain St. Augustine's interest in signs, not just linguistic signs, but signs in general, we must remember that the basic notion underlying all scriptural interpretation in Jewish Tradition as well as in the Christian Church is the idea that particular events are not mere historical contingencies, but are to be viewed as signs,³ whose importance, by virtue of their symbolic meaning, outweighs that of the concrete events. These events, according to this view, are not meaningless, they carry a message that has to be decoded. Similarly, human actions, especially when performed "ex officio" by a prophet, can assume the character of a sign. For some particularly clear examples, see Ezekiel chapter 4. Discussions, then, on the general nature of signs, what properties they have and what kinds of signs there are, occur quite frequently in St. Augustine's writings, and we will encounter further on some typical instances.

St. Augustine, therefore, can be considered an early student of semiotics, the science of signs in the broadest sense, the importance of which has been pointed out by such scholars as Charles Sanders Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure, and vigorously stressed on more recent occasions by Roman Jakobson. It is thus with ample justification that Professor Jakobson refers to signans and signatum as "the good old terms of St. Augustine."⁴ even though the latter is not, properly speaking, the originator of this usage of terms.⁵

Following his own recommendations, Augustine worked hard at improving his inadequate knowledge of Greek; yet, firmly convinced of the divinely inspired character of the Septuagint Version, he never bothered to learn Hebrew. As he saw it, there

was only one problem in taking the Septuagint as the basic text: the exegete had to know the signification of the proper names. Since, however, onomastic lists providing an explanation for all Hebrew names were readily available, this problem was easily solved. (One such list had already been compiled by Philo, a task which, incidentally, fitted quite nicely into the latter's general concern of disguising Israel's faith under Greek-made garments.)

An important source for learning more about St. Augustine's outlook on language is his tractate De Magistro, written in about 389 A.D. To it the rest of this essay will be devoted.

It may sound somewhat ironic that Augustine, who, prior to his conversion, was a — by all accounts quite successful — teacher of rhetoric for thirteen years (373 — 386), should write a treatise to prove that teaching is altogether impossible. Yet his book De Magistro is just that. It originated from a dialogue with his fifteen-year-old son Adeodatus. No exhaustive analysis of it can be attempted here. We will let pass without comment the view expressed in Chapter I that the purpose of all speaking is teaching. We will be satisfied with stating the dialogue's general aim immediately below, and will then focus on the question of names. Throughout the discussion we should keep in mind that by 'teaching' Augustine means the transfer of indubitable knowledge. Instruction about historical facts does not satisfy this requirement; strictly speaking, their acceptance is a matter of faith.

Central to the whole discussion is the concept of sign. No definition of it is given in De Magistro, possibly because Augustine knew his son to be familiar enough with this concept. In his later De Doctrina Christiana we read: "A sign is a thing which, over and above the impression it makes on the senses, causes something else to come into the mind as a consequence of itself." (Book II, §I, 1, Edition Marcus Dods, Edinburgh, 1892, translated by S. D. Salmond)⁶ After this definition, Augustine goes on to distinguish between natural signs and conventional signs in the obvious way. A similar definition is found in an earlier work: "A sign is that which both displays itself to the senses and something over and above itself to the mind." (Princ. Dial. 5)⁷

The first part of the discussion in De Magistro ends up with the conclusion that there is no teaching without signs. It would seem that we may teach something by direct display of the thing itself. Thus, if someone asks us what 'ambulare' (walking) is, we may show him and start walking. However, as Adeodatus correctly points out, this will not do. For one thing, the performance is ineffective in case we were already walking to begin with. For then, the inquirer will not be aware that his question is being answered. A deeper defect of this procedure is that if in answering his question we walk, say, ten steps, the asking person may very well understand that 'ambulare' means 'walking ten steps.' How will he ever learn, with no use of signs being allowed, that the action denoted by 'ambulare' is imperfective?

It seems therefore that difficulties of this kind warrant the conclusion that there is no possibility of teaching without signs. (Later on, this conclusion is slightly modified: if the learned is *intelligent enough*, then he can be taught *certain things* without signs.)

The attentive and inquiring mind of Adeodatus has touched

here on a whole area of problems which are still very much with us today. Adeodatus would have been delighted to hear Professor Jakobson even more colorfully emphasize the same point:

Suppose I want to explain to a unilingual Indian what Chesterfield is and I point to a package of cigarettes. What can the Indian conclude? He doesn't know whether I mean this package in particular, or a package in general, one cigarette or many, a certain brand or cigarettes in general, something to smoke, or, universally, any agreeable thing. He doesn't know, moreover, whether I'm simply showing, giving, selling, or prohibiting the cigarettes to him.⁸

Secondly, to go back to De Magistro, it appears that teaching by means of signs is also out of the question. For, either the learner does not know what the sign signifies, in which case it will not be of any help to him, or he does know, in which case, however, he will learn nothing new. (As K. Kuypers remarks in his booklet Der Zeichen- und Wortbegriff im Denken Augustins, this kind of reasoning first made its appearance in the Skeptic writers. They, too, argue against the possibility of teaching, on very similar grounds. See e.g., Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, p. 605, Bekker's edition.)

Now, since there is no teaching either with signs or without signs, St. Augustine concludes that there is no such thing as teaching at all. To us, this conclusion is sure to look a trifle overhasty. Even if the premises are true, it remains to show that no interplay of direct exhibition and use of signs can result in effective teaching. Yet, if it could be established that signs as such cannot add anything to our experience, the conclusion would easily follow.

Almost a thousand years later, Thomas Aquinas will wrestle with the very same problem. His solution will be that signs can serve to make vague knowledge distinct, a solution adopted again by Leibniz in the seventeenth century. This way out was not open to Augustine; to him, vague knowledge is a contradiction in terms. His position is that we are taught inwardly: "We do not learn through the words which sound outwardly, but through the truth which teaches within us." The metaphor enclosed in this phrase does not disturb Augustine, since according to the Gospel of John (14: 6) truth is personified in Christ, a saying which many Christians, including St. Augustine, have taken quite literally.

It seems that this inner teaching must be activated, or alternatively, the interior knowledge 'reminded' from without. The following quote from the last chapter of De Magistro may be helpful in grasping Augustine's position:

Then those who are called pupils consider within themselves whether what has been explained has been said truly; looking of course to that interior truth, according to the measure of which each is able. Thus they learn, and when the interior truth makes known to them that true things have been said, they applaud, but without knowing that instead of applauding teachers they are applauding learners, if indeed their teachers know what they are saying. But men are mistaken, so that they call those teachers who are not, mere-

ly because for the most part there is no delay between the time of speaking and the time of cognition. And since after the speaker has reminded them, the pupils quickly learn within, they think that they have been taught outwardly by him who prompts them. (De Magistro, chapter XIV. This and all further quotes are from the translation by G. C. Leckie in Philosophy Source-Books, New York, 1938)⁹

It is quite clear that there is a substantial affinity between this doctrine of interior illumination and Plato's reminiscential epistemology, i.e., his concept of ἀνάμνησις, as proposed and advocated in the Meno dialogue.

Now it is in the framework of this discussion about teaching and signs that some attempts at linguistic analysis are made. Augustine's overall conception of language comes very close to regarding it as a collection of names, stored in the memory. In chapter V, he explicitly argues that all parts of speech can be considered as names. In support of this, he offers three arguments.

First of all, he adduces a text of St. Paul's: "Non erat in Christo Est et Non, sed Est in illo erat." (2 Cor. 1:19). Through logical manipulations, Augustine infers that something which was in Christ is called Est, hence the verb Est is also a name. ("Vides ergo, Est nomen esse, siquidem illud quod erat in illo, Est nominatur.")

Secondly, he notes that we correctly say that the Greeks call τίς what we call quis, καλῶς what we call bene, θέλω what we call volo, καί what we call et, ἀπό what we call ab, and even οἱ what we call hue. If, however, it is appropriate to say such, it must be that quis (a pronoun), bene (an adverb), volo (a verb), et (a conjunction), ab (a preposition) and hue (an interjection) are all names.

Thirdly, Augustine describes a situation where the utterance 'placet si, displicet quia.' is a true and natural Latin sentence. In English: "'if' pleases, 'because' displeases." Since si and quia function here as grammatical subjects, they must be nouns (= names).

The confusion between *mentioning* words and *using* them, which is evident here, was a defect of most of Classical Philosophy.¹⁰ Augustine's reasoning reminds us of the Stoic paradox of "The Wagon":

Whatever you say passes through your mouth.

You say 'a wagon'.

Therefore, a wagon passes through your mouth.¹¹

In this passage, as in so many others, the absence of a meta-language is sorely felt; not least by Augustine himself, when, as a sort of preliminary to the presentation of the three arguments above, he warns:

...discussing words with words is as entangled as interlocking and rubbing the fingers with the fingers, in which case it may scarcely be distinguished, except by the one himself who does it, which fingers itch and which give aid to the itching.

All through the book, words play an important part. They are paradigmatic for signs. (For the pre-eminence of words among the conventional signs, see his De Doctrina Christiana, Book II, §III, 4.) Signs, of course, must signify something. Spellbound by his structureless view of language as a set of names, Augustine takes Virgil's line

si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui, (Aen. II, 659)
(if the Gods will that nothing remain of the great city,)

counts the words, finds that there are eight of them and concludes that there must be eight signs, each having a meaning of its own. He thereupon requests Adeodatus to state the meaning of each word, or rather, to tell what it is that each word is a name for.

The intelligent Adeodatus soon finds out that si is a name for "doubt." As to nihil, he states that it names "id quod non est," that which is not. But here he runs into his father's rebuke:

- Perhaps you are right. But I cannot agree with you because of your recent admission, namely, that a sign is not a sign unless it signifies something. And that which is not cannot in any way be something. Accordingly, the second word in the line is not a sign because of the fact that it does not signify anything, which would mean that we have agreed falsely that all words are signs or that every sign signifies something.

In reply, Adeodatus states his belief that the occurrence of the word nihil does not change an otherwise meaningful discourse into nonsense, and that, clearly, a speaker does signify something by means of those two syllables.

Hereupon, Augustine suggests what to us might appear a somewhat surprising proposal. It does not seem to surprise Adeodatus, however:

What shall we do? Since the mind does not see the thing and yet finds, or thinks that it finds, that it does not exist, can we not say that a certain affection of the mind, "affectionem animi," is signified rather than a thing which is not?

Adeodatus: Perhaps that is just what I was trying to explain.

At this point, Augustine leaves his usual gravity behind for a moment, and indulges in a straightforward pun:

Let us proceed then, be that matter as it may, lest a very silly thing happen to us.

Adeodatus: What, pray?

Lest nothing should detain us, and we should suffer delay. (Si nihil nos teneat, et moras patiamur.)

After a not too successful attempt of Adeodatus to define the meaning of the next word, the preposition ex, Augustine puts an end to the grammatical discussion. The debate about the meaning of words turns out to have been only a skillful preparation

to the real issue about the possibility of teaching. This is the way in which Augustine now introduces the issue of his concern:

You readily observe that you have expounded words with words, signs with signs, things well known by means of things likewise well known. I wish, however, that you would show me, if you can, the things themselves of which these are the signs.¹²

In this manner the question as to whether anything can be shown without a sign is brought into the discussion. From this point on, the dialogue follows the lines sketched above and leads up to the theory of learning we discussed.

There is a digression in Chapter IX which is interesting mainly because it shows how ages differ as to what questions are taken to be meaningful and worthwhile asking. Namely, the issue is raised of which is higher in value: a sign or the thing signified by that sign. At first, Augustine claims that obviously the thing itself is superior to the sign. To this Adeodatus objects:

It seems to me that assent should not be given too hastily. For when we say coenum (filth), this name, I think, is far superior to that which it signifies. What offends us when we hear it does not pertain to the sound of the word itself, since coenum is changed by a single letter from coelum (heaven). But we do see what a great difference there is between the things signified by these names. Hence I should not attribute to this sign what we so loathe in the thing signified. So for this reason I consider the sign superior to the thing, for we hear the sign with greater complaisance than we perceive the thing by means of any sense.

Augustine concedes this and proceeds to ask Adeodatus to grant at least that the cognition of things is superior to the signs themselves. Adeodatus agrees, but when Augustine infers from this that the cognition of things has to be preferred to the cognition of signs, he objects again:

Did I admit that the cognition of things is superior to the cognition of signs, and not just to signs themselves? Then I fear that I am not in agreement with you on this point. For if coenum, the name is better than the thing it signifies, then the cognition of the name ought to be preferred to the cognition of the thing, although the name itself be inferior to the cognition. Indeed there are four considerations involved: (1) the name, (2) the thing, (3) the cognition of the name, (4) the cognition of the thing. Since the first is more excellent than the second, why is not the third better than the fourth? But if it is not better, must it therefore be considered as inferior?

In other words, Adeodatus assumes that cognition is a monotonic increasing function. Yet Augustine provides a counter-example to this claim:

I see that you have very admirably retained what

you conceded and understood what you thought. But you understand, I think, that the three-syllable word vitium (vice) is better than that which it signifies, though the cognition of the word itself is far inferior to the knowledge of vices. Granted that you thus arrange and consider the four distinctions: (1) name, (2) thing, (3) cognition of name, (4) cognition of thing, we correctly place the first before the second. For the name placed in the verse where Persius says: "But he is drunk with vice," not only does not vitiate the verse but adds a certain ornament. But when the thing itself which is signified by this name (vitium) is in anything it does vitiate it. So thus we see that the third does not excel the fourth, but the fourth the third. For the cognition of the name vitium exists for the sake of the cognition of vices.

After this digression, the main issue about the relation between signs and teaching is again taken up. Since the upshot of the dialogue is, as we saw above, that signs by themselves do not have the power to teach anybody anything, one is naturally tempted to ask what it is, then, that we use signs for. This question, Augustine says, will be answered on some other occasion. As far as we know, such a sequel to the discussion never took place, perhaps because of Adeodatus' dying that same year.

If we now ask why Augustine the theologian was concerned with epistemology at all, the answer is to be found in his concluding words:

But we shall, God willing, inquire at some other time about the utility of words, which if it is well considered is no mean matter. For the present I have warned you that we should not attribute more to words than is proper. So that now we may not only believe but also begin to understand that it has truly been written on divine authority that we are not to call anyone on earth our master because there is only one Master of all who is in heaven. But what in Heaven means He Himself will advertise to us by means of men, through signs and outwardly, so that we may by turning inwardly to Him be made wise; whom to know and to love is the blessed life which, though all claim to seek it, few indeed may rejoice that they have found.

Even if "we should not attribute more to words than is proper," watching a philosopher discuss them is always interesting for a linguist. It is indicative of the central position of linguistic communication among the constituents of human existence, that many of the best known philosophers have found it necessary to come to terms with language at one point or other of their investigations. Professor Chomsky's insistence that it is the study of language in its universal aspects which, of all fields of study presently conceived of, is most likely to yield crucial evidence in connection with a theory of mind, has arisen from the results of highly specialized and detailed linguistic studies carried out in the area of Generative Grammar. Such evidence

was not available to philosophers of the past. It is incumbent on the philosophers of the future, however, to make full use of the wealth of insights available from Modern Linguistics into language and the way it functions in human interaction.¹³

Notes

1. The epigraph is taken from an article entitled:

Sosir der foter fun der moderner lingvistik

(Saussure, Father of Modern Linguistics), which appeared in Yivo Bleter, 24 (1944), pp. 67-78. It reads in translation:

With all respect for the attainments of the 19th and 20th century in the area of comparative historical studies, we have no right at all to forget the splendid contributions of the earliest scholars, to begin with Saint Augustine....

Again in his recent lectures at Harvard University and the Institute of Cognitive Studies, many of which I had the privilege of attending, Professor Jakobson occasionally mentioned Saint Augustine as an important figure in the history of the study of signs.

2. Compare further: Diogenes Laertius X 75, Diodorus Siculus I, 8, 3-4 and also the Lucretian version of Epicurus' doctrine in De Rerum Naturae, V 1028-1090.
3. It is no accident that the word \aleph/χ 'sign' occurs as many as 78 times in the Hebrew Bible.
4. In his address to the conference of Anthropologists and Linguists (July, 1952), published as chapter 2 in Results of the Conference of Anthropologists and Linguists (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 8 of I.J.A.L.)
5. The terms signans and signatum are the Latin equivalents of the Greek expressions σημαῖνον and σημαίνόμενον which had been current for centuries in the philosophical writings of the Stoa. Cf. I. M. Bocheński, Ancient Formal Logic (Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Co., 1951), §14B:

The Stoics developed a highly complex and refined semiotics. They distinguished three factors in the semantic situation: the symbol (τὸ σημαῖνον), a material sound; the significance or meaning (τὸ σημαίνόμενον), and the external thing itself (τὸ πρᾶγμα, τυγχάνον). The significate, which was also called 'that which is said' (τὸ λεκτόν), was considered as incorporeal in opposition to the thing and the symbol, which were both bodies. They distinguished speech as a physical phenomenon (λέγειν) from speech as a vehicle of meaning (ἀπαγορεύειν).

For a detailed account of the semiotics of the Stoics see: Benson Mates, Stoic Logic (University of California Press, 1953), especially chapter II.

6. In the original Latin: "Signum est enim res, praeter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud ex se faciens in cogitationem venire."
7. In Latin: "Signum est et quod seipsum sensui et praeter se aliquid animo ostendit."
8. See note 4.
9. Reprinted in Whitney J. Oates: Basic Writings of Saint Augustine, Vol. I, (Random House Publ., New York, 1948). For two other English translations of De Magistro see: F. E. Touscher, The Philosophy of Teaching (Villanova College, 1924) and J. M. Colleran, The Teacher in Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster, Md., 1950).
10. Indian philosophers were in a much better position to discuss language. Their language, Sanskrit, provided them with a particle īti (roughly corresponding to English 'thus') which was regularly used to terminate a quotation, and which when used after a single expression served to formally distinguish use from mention.

In writing grammatical rules, grammarians have to mention expressions more often than to use them; therefore, the Sanskrit grammarians inverted the convention and used īti in their technical terminology just in case they had to refer to the thing itself and not to its linguistic expression. (See J. F. Staal: Reification, Quotation and Nominalization in: Logic and Philosophy, Essays in honour of I. M. Bocheński, Amsterdam, 1965, pp. 151-187.)

In Dravidian syntax a similar device plays an even larger part in sentence construction. E.g., in Tamil the various participles of the verb en 'to say' are used as a quotation particle. The sentence: 'I said: "go"' is translated as follows: 'pō enru ḡonnēn,' literally: 'go saying I-spoke.' And an idiomatic translation of: 'He fears that he will be caught' is given by: 'Akappaḡuvēn enru payappaḡukirān,' literally: I-will-suffer-capture saying he-suffers-fear. (For more details see e.g. A. H. Arden: A Progressive Grammar of the Tamil Language, §532-545, or H. Beytham: Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache, §228-233.)

It is plausible to assume that the specific function and frequent use of īti in Sanskrit is due to influence from the Dravidian substratum. Sanskrit is the only Indo-European language that has this property. The form īti itself is genuine Sanskrit: ī-ti, 'in this manner,' (see W. D. Whitney: Sanskrit Grammar, §1102).

11. Quoted from Benson Mates: Stoic Logic (University of California Press, 1953) V, §5.
12. This passage is remarkable for its terseness in Latin: "Illud certe tibi attendere facile est, exposuisse te

verbis verba, id est signis signa, eisdemque notissimis notissima: ego autem illa ipsa quorum haec signa sunt, mihi, si posses, vellum ut ostenderes."

13. I am indebted to Professor John Viertel (Brandeis University), who kindly read a first draft of this article and suggested various improvements.

SYNTAX AS STYLE: AN ANALYSIS OF
THREE CUMMINGS' POEMS

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A great tangle of adjectives has been generated in the evaluation of Cummings' poetry. He has been condemned for using a kind of "baby talk"¹ and praised for his "exuberant cross-breeding of the parts of speech."² Critics have renounced his verbal prestidigitation, while others celebrated his experimentation. Whether we view Cummings' style as "pure poetry"³ or an "old bag of tricks,"⁴ that is, whether we present him with laurels or an acid review, has been largely a matter of one's notion of successful poetry, or one's personal preference.

The stylistic linguist finds his, or in this case her, probing nose attracted by the intense exchange of these critics. While I cannot hope to dissolve arguments of preference, I would like to add to the exchange a syntactic analysis of three brief poems with the intention of exposing some of Cummings' "magic" as a subtle manipulation of syntactic conventions.

In the following poem, published by The New Yorker,⁵ there are no typographical tricks, no newly created words, no conceptual vocabulary, characteristics usually associated with Cummings' poetry. The main device is instead a striking rearrangement of syntactic units.

Me up at does
out of the floor
quietly Stare
a poisoned mouse
still who alive
is asking What
have i done that

You wouldn't have

Assuming that we understand a semi-sentence or deviant sentence by some means of comparing it with the set of nondeviant sentences most closely related, we can minimally rearrange the above poem to the following acceptable sequence:

up at Me out of the floor a poisoned mouse does
quietly Stare who still alive is asking What have
i done that You wouldn't have

The rearrangement is just that--without additions or deletions. It is void of emotion, in contrast to the poem which focuses on the emotional state of the speaker. We understand that the speaker is startled, confused by the manner in which his speech is jumbled. It is, curiously, just what we would expect of a poisoned mouse, but the imagined speech of the mouse is in conventional word order, straightforward and concise. The irony of the situation, the emotional reversal, is conveyed solely by impermissible syntactic inversions: the inverted prepositional

object, "me up at" (a speaker would have to be quite upset to utter that sequence); and the adverb inversion in "still who alive," an error which we might expect in the speech of an excited person. The subject, "a poisoned mouse," is postponed, a common device used in narrative for emphasis. In this poem it strengthens as it recreates the speaker's surprise.

"Does" is out of its normal position, placed with some emphasis at the end of the line, and is the only source of ambiguity in the poem. It could be interpreted as both emphatic "a poisoned mouse does quietly stare," or interrogative "does a poisoned mouse quietly stare?," conveying the speaker's disbelief of the situation. Likely Cummings had both functions in mind. "Does" also seems to make the inversion of verb and subject more acceptable--try reading the passage with it omitted. Its inclusion is clearly not arbitrary as the form of the verb is in agreement.

In creating deviances a poet is restricted by the limitations built into his language. In this poem Cummings manipulated the restrictions on English word order to create a jumbled speech without jeopardizing communication, a delicate task. (Other arrangements, for example, "me does out of at the floor up" would not be so easily or quickly rearranged for comprehension.) Crucial to his success is the way Cummings maintains the proximity of groups of words which function as a unit, while disturbing their sequence. Cummings has skillfully created an illusion of spontaneity.

In another, this time a two-sentence poem, Cummings again uses syntax as an important thematic device. The poem is the third of the Chansons Innocentes:⁶

Tumbling-hair
 picker of buttercups
 violets

 dandelions
 And the big bullying daisies
 through the field wonderful
 with eyes a little sorry
 Another comes
 also picking flowers

The syntactic device in this poem is not inversion, but deletion. The first sentence is instantly understood despite the omissions (reconstructing the closest fully grammatical sentence):

with tumbling-hair the picker of buttercups violets
 dandelions and the big bullying daisies comes (or
 wanders) through the field wonderful.

The verb is so strongly suggested by the typographic movement of the line over the page (note the visual rhythm of the phrasing), and by the verb restrictions of the adverbial phrase, as to be actually unnecessary, redundant. The other omissions are non-essential items and do not affect comprehension. Because of these deletions the first sentence gives an impression of spontaneous movement. Postponing the final adjective makes it elliptical: is only the field wonderful, or all that precedes? "Wonderful" completes the clause dramatically, and serves as a breath-catcher.

The second sentence is entirely regular, in contrast, and in agreement with the semantic content; the second person lacks exuberance, picking flowers--the abstract, not the buttercups, violets, dandelions and daisies (that are typographically scattered as in a field of wild flowers) selected by the "tumbling-hair picker." Just as the first expression is free, not of syntax, but of its encumbrances, redundancies; the second is regular, unimaginative.⁷ Clearly Cummings is the master of his syntax, and a master of syntax.

The third is a one-sentence poem in which Cummings wields his syntax so that it not only parallels, but carries the action of the poem.⁸

a like a
grey
rock wanderin

g
through
pasture
wom

an creature whom
than
earth hers

elf
could
silent more no
be

The sentence wanders both graphically and syntactically to create an illusion of the woman's spatial movement. The syntactic inversions and displacements create a meandering effect; they slow down the sentence, make the reader pause as many times as the woman. As in the previous poems there is no problem of unintelligibility. The normal order and relationships can be supposed:

a woman creature like a grey rock wandering
through pasture than whom earth herself could
be no more silent.

To be an acceptable sentence the paraphrase lacks only the verb form "be" --which is frequently deleted in poetic expressions (and particularly by Cummings) without affecting comprehension. The single ambiguity which exists in the poem is carried over into the normal word order: is the grey rock, or the woman, the subject of "wandering through pasture?" The ambiguity is secondary as the poem conveys an impression of the woman, her characterization, which is unaffected by the ambiguity. It teases, rather than confuses the reader. Furthermore, it does not significantly alter the syntactic analysis, or processes. Assuming, then, one interpretation, the expression of the poem is derived from two basic sentences:

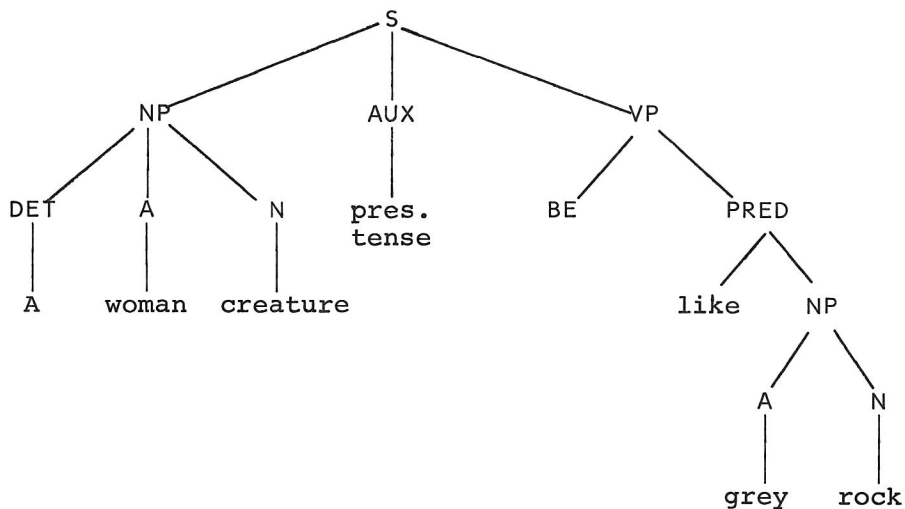
A woman creature is like a grey rock.
She (it) is wandering through pasture.

and one complex sentence

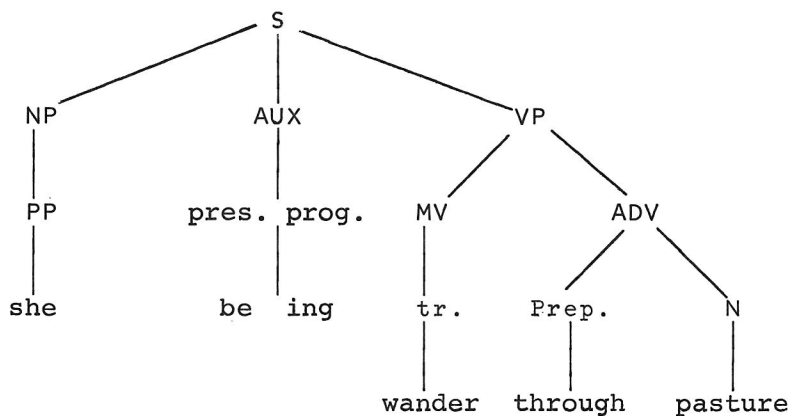
Earth herself could not be more silent than her.

(Refer to the following phrase structure analyses of the sentences and the expression of the poem.)

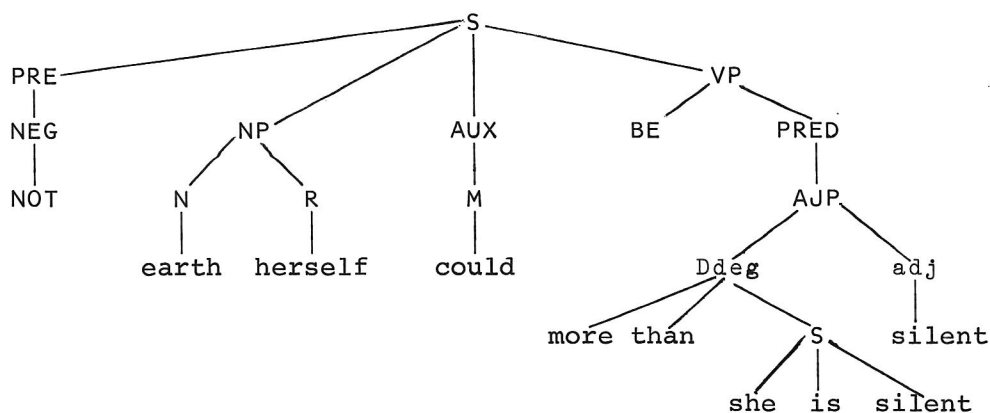
A WOMAN CREATURE IS LIKE A GREY ROCK



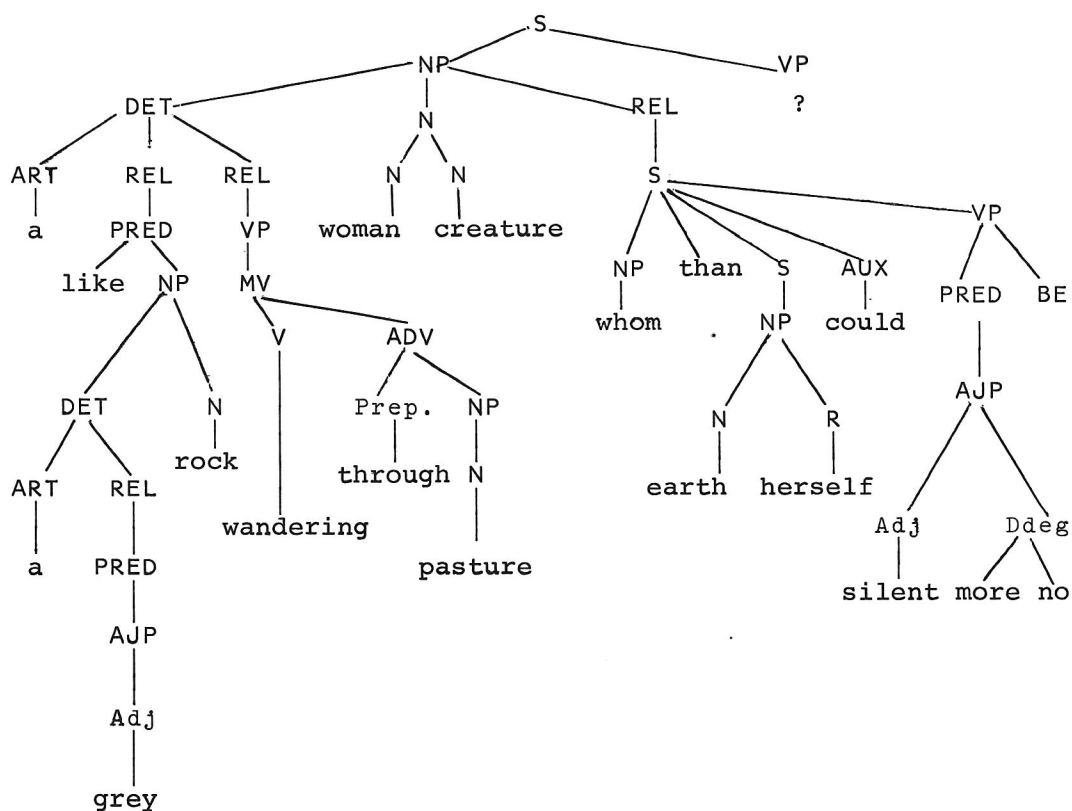
SHE IS WANDERING THROUGH PASTURE



EARTH HERSELF COULD NOT BE MORE SILENT THAN HER



A LIKE A GREY ROCK WANDERING THROUGH PASTURE WOMAN CREATURE WHOM
THAN EARTH HERSELF COULD SILENT MORE NO BE



The basic sentences can be joined by applying the wh-transformation (relative clause). The first sentence becomes the subject noun phrase of the second: A woman creature who is like a grey rock is wandering through pasture. ("She" being repetitive would be automatically deleted.)

Applying the same wh-transformation to the third sentence would incorporate it: A woman creature (who is) like a grey rock than whom earth herself could be no more silent is wandering through pasture. ("Who is" may be optionally deleted.) Setting aside inversions for the moment, this is very close to the expression of the poem, the single distinction being the verb form. Eliminating the verb leaves the nominalization of the sentence: A woman creature like a grey rock than whom earth herself could be no more silent wandering through pasture... The poem is, then, an expanded noun phrase (see the phrase structure analysis). Casting the expression thus is Cummings' main device--the poem is focused on the woman, her description, rather than an action.

Although it is a nominative expression, and an incomplete sentence for lack of a verb phrase (thus wholly left-branching), the poem gives an unexpected impression of balance. The sense is created by the placement of the main noun phrase in central position, with eight modifying words to the left and nine to the right of "woman creature." This major inversion, preposing a series of adjective phrases, is one that is never permitted in English. We may say "a wandering woman," but not "a wandering through pasture woman." Generally the adjective, and a single adjective, may be preposed. Cummings is relaxing the normal constraint, a type of deviance which is characteristic of his style. Here are other instances of this device, impermissible preposed adjectives:⁹

1. a few deleted of texture / or meaning monuments
and dolls
2. should any by me carven thing provoke your gesture

The other inversions in the "a like a" poem occur within the relative clause. "Than whom" becomes "whom than," followed by the uninverted subject and auxiliary "earth herself could," followed by a mirror inversion "silent more no be." These inversions do not cross nodes and in no way impair comprehension, as would: whom silent herself than more earth be no could. Cummings is relaxing word-order restrictions within syntactic groups (within brackets), so that his inversions are light puzzles exercising the reader's linguistic intuition. The syntax of the poem may wander, but never out of our range of comprehension.

Cummings' artful deviations force the reader to consciously search for meaningful interpretation, to reconstruct in the process analogous well-formed sentences. His innovations call for a reader of unusual flexibility, one who is willing to suspend not only customary attitudes and associations, but with them, linguistic conventions.

Notes

1. Richard P. Blackmur, Language as Gesture. (New York: 1952), "Notes on E. E. Cummings' Language."
2. John Ciardi, "To Speak an Age." Saturday Review, Sept. 29, 1962, p. 10.

3. Michael Harrington, "Modern Idiom, Traditional Spirit." Commonweal, Dec. 10, 1954, p. 295.
4. M. L. Rosenthal, "Three Windows on Cummings." Nation, Jan. 10, 1959, p. 34.
5. Vol. 39, no. 27, August, 1963, "Ten poems," pp. 22-23.
6. E. E. Cummings, Poems 1923-1954. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1954), p. 23.
7. The distinction is one strong argument for determining the sentence boundaries, ending the first sentence after "wonderful," as I have in this analysis.
8. E. E. Cummings, Poems 1923-1954, p. 458.
9. Taken from E. E. Cummings, Collected Poems. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), pp. 165 and 185.

I: Some Early Rules

Polish has morphemes of the form CVNC in which the vowel is now e, now o; e.g. zemb-y 'teeth' ~ zomb-ek 'little tooth' (orthographically zęby, zábek). This indicates the need of a phonologic rule which specifies the mid vowel in certain CVNC morphemes now grave (back), now nongrave (front). There are also morphemes in Polish which contain sometimes o, sometimes u; e.g. gwov-a 'head' ~ gwuv-ek 'little heads' (gen.) (orthographically głowa, główek). Polish must therefore also have a rule which sometimes specifies the grave mid vowel in a morpheme as diffuse (high). Since the environment for these two alternations is similar, it seems possible to regard gravity in mid vowels before nasals and diffuseness in noncompact vowels as reflections of a single deeper feature. The feature which we propose is [+tense]. Having been specified by a single rule [+tense], the root vowels of zábek and główek will by subsequent rules (cf. rule 3 below) be specified grave and diffuse respectively.

The rule which tenses the root vowels of zábek and główek is different from the later rule which tenses the vowels in záb and głow. The environment in the latter case is approximately a following voiced segment and a word boundary;¹ e.g. dęby ~ dáb 'oak', kęgi ~ krag 'circle', blędy ~ bląd 'error' but sepy ~ sep 'vulture', sęki ~ sęk, 'knot', prety ~ pret 'rod'; also robi ~ rób 'do', noże ~ nóż 'knife', noga ~ nóg 'leg' but kopie ~ kop 'dig', nosy ~ nos 'nose', foka ~ fok 'seal'. The environment in which the root vowels of zábek and główek are tensed is clearly different.

There are thus at least two sets of facts suggesting a deeper connection between the e ~ o alternation before NC and the o ~ u alternation. In what follows we are concerned only with the prenasal alternation. The fragment of Polish phonology presented here is of course subject to revision in the light of more comprehensive treatments of Polish grammar.

We assume that the underlying root vowel in zęby/záb(ek) is grave, while that in zięb-/ziáb 'chill' is nongrave. This assumption is in keeping with Lightner's proposal that the quality of some consonants (e.g. the palatal quality of the initial consonant in zięb-/ziáb) can be predicted from the nongrave (front) quality of the following vowel. Thus, for example, the forms idę/idzie 'go' (1st/3rd person) both show a final front vowel; but by positing an underlying back vowel for idę and an underlying front vowel for idzie we are able to account for the palatal quality of the consonant in the latter form by means of Lightner's rule 17 (plus our rule 11).

But rule 17 raises a problem for Polish. For every Polish word displaying a front vowel following a consonant which does not show the effects of rule 17 we must explain why the latter did not apply.² One explanation is to say that at the point in the derivation where rule 17 applies the vowel following the consonant in question is grave. This necessitates later rules which change underlying grave vowels to nongrave vowels. There are at least three situations calling for such rules. The front vowel in zábek is accounted for by Lightner's rule 43, which changes this suffix from -uk- to -ek-. The front vowel in mego 'my' (cf. synonymous mojego) is accounted for by Lightner's rules 28

Balancing these exceptions to the atek rule we have the following regular formations: cęgi cażki 'tongs', część 'part' cząstka 'particle', dęb- dąbek 'oak', dziesięć 'ten' dziesiątka 'a ten', dziewięć 'nine' dziewiątka 'a nine', dziewczeta dziewczątka 'maidens' (this suffix occurs in a larger number of words denoting the young of the species, e.g. orlątko 'eaglet'), gęba 'mouth' gąbka 'sponge', gęś 'goose' gaska 'gosling', gołąb gołąbek 'dove', grzęda grządka 'flower bed', jastrzęb- jastrząbek 'hawk', kęs 'mouthful' kąsek 'morsel', krąg- krążek 'disk', księga książka 'book', miesiąc- 'month' miesięczki 'menses', pamięć 'memory' pamiętka 'memento', pek 'bunch' pączek 'bud', pieniedź- pieniązek 'coin', pięć 'five' piątka 'a five', pięść piąstka 'fist', pręga prążek 'streak', pręt 'rod' prątek 'bacillus', obręb 'compass, area' obrąbek 'hem' (that which encompasses also hems in), ręka rączka 'hand', rząd- 'row' porządek 'order' sęk 'knot' (in a board) sączek 'drain' (as, e.g., a knot hole?), święto 'holiday' święatek 'holy image', wątek 'thread' (probably; cf. watły 'flimsy'), wieź 'bond' wiązka 'bundle', wstęga 'band' wstażka 'ribbon', zając- 'hare' zajaczek 'leveret', zęb- ząbek 'tooth', żołądek 'stomach' (possibly; cf. żołędzi- 'acorn'). In addition, atek would apply in names of diseases like śpiączka 'coma' from śpiący 'sleeping', gorączka 'fever' from gorący 'hot', rzeżączka 'gonorrhoea' from rzeżący 'castrating'. Its application here is possibly vacuous since the vowel in question is already specified tense in the underlying participial forms.⁴

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] / \text{---} [+ \text{nasal}] [-\text{voc}]_1^2 + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} +$$

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we find only a: jądro, jąderko, mosiądz, mosiądzu, mosiądzować. Similarly, pieniądze 'money' and miesiące 'months,' where forms with a predominate, yield pieniężny and miesięczny.

Verbal derivation also entails rules affecting the feature of tenseness in mid vowels before NC. For example, when a verb comprises a root and the suffix -a(ć), the prenasal vowel is usually tense. For example, brząkać (also brzękać) 'jingle' cf. brzęk, kąsać 'bite' cf. kęs, oglądać 'examine' cf. względ-, -rąbać 'cut' cf. -ręb-, osiągać 'accomplish' cf. -sięg, sprzątać 'sweep' cf. sprząt, wąchać 'sniff' cf. węch (but with a different suffix, węszyć 'scent'), and wiązać 'tie' cf. więź. Exceptional in this regard are pętać 'fetter' (pęto), sięgać 'reach out', and zaprzęgać 'harness' (zaprzęg).

Some of the rules needed to account for the pronunciation of prenasal mid vowels in Polish will be of limited generality. Some will perhaps be triggered by features associated with individual morphemes. For example, the roots meaning 'trumpet' and 'dance' will probably be entered in the lexicon with tense prenasal vowels: trąba 'trumpet', trąbić 'to trumpet', trąbnik 'sea elephant'; pląsy 'gambols', pląsać 'dance', pląsawica 'chorea'. But with the actor suffix -acz we find trębacz, plęsacz. The lexicon must therefore list -acz with the property of causing a preceding prenasal vowel to be nontense. Thus -acz is analogous to the diminutive suffix -ik in Russian, which has associated with it the feature of causing forward stress shift; cf. stół 'tables', stółowa 'dining hall', stółjar 'joiner', but stólik 'little table'.

II: Late Rules

Polish is commonly said to possess nasal vowels, and we will now consider what is meant by this phrase. The nasal vowel letters e and a in zęby and zabek do not represent nasal vowel sounds but rather sequences of oral mid vowel plus nasal consonant: [zɛmbɨ], [zɔmbɛk]. When the following consonant is a non-vocalic continuant, as in kęsy, kąsek, here too e and a stand for a sequence of vocalic segment plus nonvocalic segment, but in this case the vocalic segment is clearly nasalized: [kɛ̃wsɨ], [kɔ̃wsɛk]. Nasal vowels in the strict sense can thus be accounted for by rule (15), which nasalizes vowels in the environment before nasal glides.

There are two nasal glides in Polish, grave noncompact [Ń] as in [kɔ̃wsɨki] 'pieces', [ʒɛ̃wsɨki] 'cilia' and nongrave compact [j] as in [kɔ̃jsɨki] 'equine', [ʒɛ̃jsɨki] 'feminine' (orthographically, kąski, koński, rzęski, żeński) (see Schenker 1954: 469). The latter derives from [ɲ] by rule (12).

The nasal glide is commonly omitted in word final position following the front mid vowel. Thus idę 'I go' can be pronounced [idɛ̃Ń] or [idɛ]. To account for the latter there must be an optional rule which drops Ń between e and a word boundary. This rule (not included in the list below) must immediately precede rule (15).

An n becomes palatal (i.e. compact), if it is sharp, by rule (11). The same rule gives siedzicie 'you sit' from sedite.

An n comes to be sharp in one of several ways. In żeński it is sharpened (Lightner's rule 17) by the vowel of the adjectival suffix -isk-, which is subsequently dropped (Lightner's rule 44).

In sensie 'sense' (loc.), pronounced [sẽʃʑɛ], the n is sharp by assimilation to a following sharp palatal, rule (6). The rule is also needed to sharp the ś in mieście 'city' (loc.). Note that the rule is stated so as not to sharp the initial segment of zjem 'I will eat'. If this z is sharp, then a later, different sharpening rule is needed. The present rule is ordered before rule (11), and its application in the case of zjem would result in incorrect *zjem.

Whether or not n assimilates to a following sharp palatal continuant is conditioned in part by the preceding vowel. Following e both nasal glides occur: for sensie [sẽʃʑɛ] is possible; for gesi 'geese' next to [gẽʃʑi] we also hear [gẽʃʑi], especially in careful, somewhat studied speech. In a palatal environment on both sides of VN, e.g. in wieźć 'imprison', assimilation is obligatory: [vjẽʃʑiɕ]. Assimilation does not take place after a: szansie 'chance' (loc.) is [ʃãʃʑɛ]. What happens after o is less clear. Assimilation is normal before the infinitive ending in wziąć 'take' and prząść 'spin', pronounced [vʑiʃʑɛɕ], [pʑiʃʑɛɕ]; but before the diminutive suffix -ik- as in wasik 'tendrill' it is not: [vʑiʃʑik]. Subtly contrasting environments are apparently involved. The problem of finding out what they are is aggravated by the tendency of Polish speakers to vary the pronunciation of nasals with different styles of speech. Nevertheless it is clear that some environments must be excepted from rule (6). For the time being we must content ourselves with an imperfect rule (5), which results in a doubtful [pʑiʃʑɛɕ]. If the environment for the exception were limited to just after compact vowels, the result would be [vʑiʃʑik], likewise doubtful.

The nasal glides are in contrast when followed by a hard nongrave consonant and preceded by most vowels; e.g. [kũʃʑt] 'art' vs. [dũʃʑi] 'Danish', [ɕĩʃʑ] 'rent' vs. [lɔndĩʃʑi] 'London' (adj.) (orthographically kunszt, duński, czynsz, londyński). The high front unrounded vowel is exceptional in this respect, for the initial vowel nuclei of chiński 'Chinese' and insekt 'insect' do not contrast: [xĩʃʑi], [ĩʃʑekt] (see Biedrzycki 1963: 27). We thus have a third source for sharp n, rule (7).

In hańba 'shame' the letter ń stands for two segments: [xajmba]. This is the case also with końca 'end' (gen.) and kończyć 'finish', pronounced [kojnc̥a], [kojńɕiɕ]. See rules (8) and (9). A number of facts suggest that these rules must not be restricted to nasals. Rule (8), without the specification of [+nasal], will insert the j in rajca 'councilor' (cf. radzić 'advise'), miejski 'city' (adj.) (cf. miasto 'city'), and sześćset '600', which is pronounced [ʃɛjʑsɛt]. Here again the facts are either uncertain or conflicting. Next to rajca we find synonymous radca. J. Tuwim rhymes jeźdźca 'rider' (gen.) with miejsc̥a 'place' (gen.).⁶ If the rhyme is exact, a rule like (8) is needed, not restricted to nasals, and one or two others.

A nasal consonant (except ɲ) becomes a grave noncompact nasal glide (ŋ) when followed by a continuant and in certain grammatical endings (see rules 14a and 14b).⁸ But to account for forms like chamski 'boorish' and Łomża 'city in northeast Poland', which are pronounced with [m], we make m before nongrave consonants an exception to rule (14a). See rule (13).

Here are the rules. To allow for a broader sampling of derivations we include a rule (1) changing i and u to mid vowels

before NC, a rule (4) dropping nasals before continuant liquids, and a rule (2), which tenses mid vowels followed by NC and an i or u in the next syllable.

- (1) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{diff}] / \text{ ______ } [+nasal] + [+cons]$
- (2) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+tense] / \text{ ______ } [+nasal] ([+cons]) + [+cons] \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$
- (3) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \alpha\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\alpha\text{grave}] / \text{ ______ } [+nasal] + [+cons]$
- (4) $[+nasal] \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$
- (5) $[+nasal] \rightarrow [-\text{next rule}] / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ______ } [+cont]$
- (6) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+sharp] / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix}$
- (7) $[+nasal] \rightarrow [+sharp] / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$
- (8) insert $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{cont} \\ -\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix}$
- (9) $[+nasal] \rightarrow [-sharp] / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix}$
- (10) $[+nasal] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{comp} \\ \beta\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ \alpha\text{comp} \\ \beta\text{grave} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$

- (11) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ +\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix}$
- (12) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{sharp} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{cons}] / \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$
- (13) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{next rule}] / \text{---} [-\text{grave}]$
- (14) $[\text{+nasal}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{cases} \text{(a)} & \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{(b)} & + [\text{+voc}] \text{---} \# \end{cases}$
- (15) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\text{+nasal}] / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$

In conclusion we offer some sample derivations.

cięła 'she cut' (cf. tnę 'I am cutting'): $\text{tin}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{t̥in}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{l} \rightarrow \text{t̥en}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{3} \rightarrow \text{t̥en}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{4} \rightarrow \text{t̥e}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{11} \rightarrow \text{çe}+\text{l}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 49} \rightarrow \text{çe}+\text{w}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{other rules} \rightarrow [\text{çewa}]$

ciąwszy 'having cut': $\text{tin}+\text{vuš̥i} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{t̥in}+\text{vuš̥i} \rightarrow \text{l} \rightarrow \text{t̥en}+\text{vuš̥i} \rightarrow \text{2} \rightarrow \text{t̥ēn}+\text{vuš̥i} \rightarrow \text{3} \rightarrow \text{t̥on}+\text{vuš̥i} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 44} \rightarrow \text{t̥on}+\text{vš̥i} \rightarrow \text{voicing assimilation} \rightarrow \text{t̥on}+\text{fš̥i} \rightarrow \text{11} \rightarrow \text{çon}+\text{fš̥i} \rightarrow \text{14a} \rightarrow \text{çow}+\text{fš̥i} \rightarrow \text{15} \rightarrow \text{çōw}+\text{fš̥i} \rightarrow \text{other rules} \rightarrow [\text{çōwfš̥i}]$

trzęsę 'I shake': $\text{trēns}+\text{ōm} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{trēns}+\text{ōm} \rightarrow \text{3} \rightarrow \text{tr̥ens}+\text{em} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 34, progressive devoicing, and others} \rightarrow \text{t̥šens}+\text{em} \rightarrow \text{14a} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēws}+\text{em} \rightarrow \text{14b} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēws}+\text{eŋ} \rightarrow \text{15} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēws}+\text{eŋ} \rightarrow \text{other rules} \rightarrow [\text{t̥šēwsēŋ}]$

trzęsie 'he shakes': $\text{trēns}+\text{e}+\text{t} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{tr̥ēns}+\text{e}+\text{t} \rightarrow \text{3} \rightarrow \text{tr̥ēns}+\text{e}+\text{t} \rightarrow \text{as above} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēns}+\text{e}+\text{t} \rightarrow \text{a t-dropping rule} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēns}+\text{e} \rightarrow \text{6} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēns}+\text{e} \rightarrow \text{11} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēŋ}+\text{e} \rightarrow \text{12} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēj}+\text{e} \rightarrow \text{15} \rightarrow \text{t̥šēj}+\text{e} \rightarrow \text{other rules} \rightarrow [\text{t̥šējē}]$

hańba 'shame': $\text{xan}+\text{ib}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{xan}+\text{ib}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 44} \rightarrow \text{xan}+\text{b}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{8} \rightarrow \text{xajn}+\text{b}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{9} \rightarrow \text{xajn}+\text{b}+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{10} \rightarrow [\text{xajmba}]$

wąsik 'tendrill': $\text{vōns}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{Lightner's 17} \rightarrow \text{vōn}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{3} \text{ (and others)} \rightarrow \text{von}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{5} \rightarrow \text{yes} \rightarrow \text{6} \rightarrow \text{no} \rightarrow \text{11} \rightarrow \text{von}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{14a} \rightarrow \text{vow}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{15} \rightarrow \text{vōw}+\text{ik} \rightarrow \text{other rules} \rightarrow [\text{vōwšik}]$

Chocimska 'street in Warsaw': xotĩm+isk+a → Lightner's 17 → xotĩm+isk+a → Lightner's 44 (and others) → xotĩm+sk+a → 7 (applies vacuously) → xotĩm+sk+a → 11 → xoćim+sk+a → 13 → yes → 14a → no → Lightner's 51 (unsharps labial consonants before a consonant or word boundary) → xoćim+sk+a → other rules → [xoćimska]

cięży 'lies heavy':⁷ tẽng+ĩ+t → Lightner's 6, 17 and others → tẽnż+ĩ+t → 3 → tẽnż+ĩ+t → the t-dropping rule → tẽnż+ĩ → 11 → ċenż+ĩ → 14a → ċeŵż+ĩ → 15 → ċeŵż+ĩ → other rules → [ċeŵżĩ]

cieńszy 'thinner': ten+iš+ĩ → Lightner's 17 → tẽn+iš+ĩ → Lightner's 44 → tẽn+š+ĩ → 11 → ċeń+š+ĩ → 12 → ċeŋ+š+ĩ → 15 → ċeŋ+š+ĩ → other rules → [ċeŋšĩ]

Notes

1. See Szober 1963: 66-67.
2. Another possibility, suggested by gwiezdny 'starry' (cf. gwiazda), wiedli 'they led' (cf. wiodła), etc., is that rule 17 applies, preventing the backward shift of the preceding vowel, but that prior to the application of our rule (11), which would result in *gwieždźny, *wiedźli, another rule intervenes undoing the work of rule 17.
3. For the phonological concomitants of foreignness in Russian see Halle 1959: 73.
4. Note that the c ~ cz alternation in the last set of forms points to an underlying k in the present participle in Polish, despite the historical *t indicated by comparative evidence. The form gorętszy 'hotter' in no way argues against this supposition: the segment following the nasal is assimilated to the next following segment with respect to strikency (cf. Schenker 1966: 44), and is therefore c.
5. This form irregularly fails to show the results of Lightner's rule 6, which would give *tęszczny.
6. Kwiaty polskie, cz. 2, rozdział 1, I.
7. It would be preferable to enter this verbal root in the lexicon as teNg, with an unspecified nasal and thus fewer feature specifications. But in order to prevent Łomża from coming out as though spelled *Łaža we had to make grave nasals an exception to rule (14a). Rule (13) requires the information that the nasal in ċenż+ĩ is not grave, since ċenż+ĩ is not an exception to rule (14a). We could have followed Lightner (cf. his rule 39) in not restricting the application of our rule (10) to environments before stopped consonants, but this would have resulted in Chocimska coming out as if spelled *Chocińska (i.e. [xoćińska]). We have been unable to remedy this not insignificant shortcoming in our rules.
8. See next page.

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8. How the environment for rule (14b) must be stated in order to get W in some grammatical endings (e.g. tą 'this' [fem. instr.], siostre 'sister' [acc.]) while retaining m and n in others (ten 'this' [masc. nom.], siostrom 'sisters' [dat.]) remains one of the key questions which this paper raises but does not answer. Schenker's observation (1964: 34) that the sequence on does not occur finally in grammatical endings suggests a workable solution for tą, siostrą, etc., but we are left with innumerable forms like ten, siostrom, stołem, dobrym, wielkim, etc., which show rule (14b) as presently formulated to be incorrect.

THE LITANY OF SAINTS IN 'MOLITVA SV. TROICĚ'

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Among the several extant Church Slavonic writings of supposed Latin origin that appear to have found their way to Kievan Rus' in translations made in Bohemia are two prayers--known as "Molitva sv. Troicě" and "Molitva na dĕjavola"--which mention names of saints especially venerated in the West.¹ The first one occurs "rather frequently" in Russian copies of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and was edited in 1884 by A. S. Arxangel'skij.² The second prayer, from a thirteenth-century sbornik, was published by A. I. Sobolevskij in 1899³ and 1910.⁴ Arxangel'skij's title (Ljubopytnyj pamjatnik) reflects the puzzlement he felt when confronted with a Russian Church Slavonic text containing Western features; and his colleague I. A. Šljapkin echoed him by calling the prayer to the Holy Trinity "ljubopytnyj, no zagadočnyj pamjatnik." It was Sobolevskij--one of the first scholars to recognize the importance of Czech influence on early Russian literature⁵--who gave closer attention to the two prayers and drew meaningful conclusions. Both of them, he found, contain traces of early Church Slavonic forms that leave no doubt about their antiquity. That the texts were of Bohemian provenance is suggested by some linguistic features and by the mentions of characteristic Western saints venerated by the Czechs. Sobolevskij also thought he detected in the syntax of "Molitva na dĕjavola" some hints that it was translated from Latin.

These two prayers, moreover, are not isolated phenomena. The thirteenth-century sbornik from which "Molitva na dĕjavola" comes has the leaves numbered in such a way as to indicate that the prayers in it were once part of a larger collection. Two other prayers in the sbornik have passages almost identical with some in "Molitva sv. Troicě." (One of them, "Molitva ispovědaniju grĕxovъ," was among prayers from this manuscript that Sobolevskij published 1905.⁶) Furthermore, a prayer found in a molitvennik of the sixteenth century--"Molitva potrebna vsěmъ svjatyŋ glagolema na vsjakъ denъ"--lists a large number of saints, some of whom are the same as ones in the two prayers under discussion.⁷ Sobolevskij concluded:

По видимому, целая группа молитв была переведена с латинского языка в пределах искони подчиненной римскому престолу Чехии еще в то время, когда в этой земле сохранялось богослужение на церковно-славянском языке и церковно-славянский язык был языком церковной письменности.

Because St. Canute (died 1086) and St. Alban (supposed by the editor to be a man who died in 1072)⁸ are mentioned, Sobolevskij believed the prayers must have been translated in the late eleventh century and at the Sázava Monastery near Prague. But Weingart called this "only a guess;" and it must be said that the conjecture allows precious little time between the death of Canute and the banning of Slavonic from Sázava, which took place in 1097.

Sobolevskij's introduction to the prayers was scholarly but brief and not thorough even in its examination of the lexicon. His opinions generally about the Bohemian origin of Russian texts were challenged, the critics arguing that the evidence for "bo-

hemisms" in the manuscripts was insufficient.⁹ In the intervening years, as far as I can determine, the prayers have still not received adequate attention.¹⁰ Scholars have been content for the most part to paraphrase Sobolevskij's observations. Even Fr. Dvornik, who has devoted the most space to the prayers in recent years, did not go beyond an attempt to identify some of the saints who are named.¹¹ Perhaps scholars have been discouraged by Sobolevskij's negative opinion of one of the prayers:

"Молитва на дьявола" по содержанию не представляет интереса. Она длинна и многословна, не отличается ни поэтическими достоинствами, ни силою чувства.

He was largely right about the literary merits of the work, but he was very much wrong in saying its contents are without interest. The fact is that all of the prayers mentioned above offer valuable material to students of the literature of devotions; and at the same time it is clear that--barring discovery of their actual sources--the origin of the texts cannot be ascertained without a systematic study of their contents. While not attempting to settle the difficult questions that arise, I offer some remarks on one section of the "Prayer to the Holy Trinity."

It is not sufficient merely to extract the names of a few saints from this prayer and display them as evidence of its Western origin. It must be realized that "Molitva sv. Troicě" contains an entire litany of the saints--a special genre with a long history of its own in both the Eastern and Western Churches.¹² To understand properly the significance of names--and indeed even to identify correctly some of the saints who are invoked--one must examine their place in the structure of the litany as a whole. Tradition regulated the selection and order of holy persons, and deviations can help to determine the place and time of composition and even give clues as to the ideology of the writer.¹³

A litany prayer is one of the three basic kinds of prayers found in the oldest Christian liturgies.¹⁴ In its original form it is a prayer of intercession in which a priest or deacon reads a series of supplications and the people respond after each with Kyrie eleison, or Amen, Ora pro nobis, etc. The invocation of a short list of holy persons in the prayers is a very ancient trait. It is not known for sure, however, when and where the practice was introduced of naming a lengthy sequence of saints (i.e., of invoking sanctorum nomina seriatim¹⁵). In the West this usage seems to have been spread from England and Ireland, where such texts appear in the late seventh century. From there they spread to Gaul and the entire Continent, reaching Rome around 800. The oldest known manuscript evidence on the Continent is from about 770-780.¹⁶ Western litanies of the saints may have influenced the Byzantine, but it is known that structured lists of saints, while not such long ones, were used in the East much earlier.¹⁷

For centuries there was considerable regional diversity in the composition of the litanies, and a fully standardized list of saints was not established in the West until the time of Pope Pius V (1566-72).¹⁸ It is only in the last few years, nonetheless, that hagiologists have begun to recognize the importance of the litanies as sources to be placed alongside calendars and martyrologies. The litanies sometimes record the earliest evi-

dence for the veneration of a saint, and they often survive where local calendars have perished.¹⁹

Litanies of saints are known from early times not only in liturgical prayers but in those intended for individual devotions. The Russian "Molitva sv. Troicě" is such a private prayer. The title is actually a misnomer, because it is addressed not solely nor primarily to the Holy Trinity. Moreover, the nature of the prayer has not been sufficiently understood. Its lengthy text (fourteen and one half printed pages) is in effect made up of several prayers, as is clearly announced in the preface:

СИ МОЛИТВА О ПОКААНИИ. И О ИСХОДѢ ДУШИ. И О ВТОРОМЪ
ПРИШЕСТВІИ ГОСПОДНИ. И ЗА ВСЯ КРЕСТЬЯНЫ. И ЗА УСПШАЯ.
И ЗА ВРАГЫ. И НА ПОХВАЛУ СѢИ ТРОИЦИ ОТЦУ И СѢИ И СѢМУ
ДУХУ. И НА ПОБѢДУ ВРАГОМЪ ВИДИМЫМЪ И НЕВИДИМЫМЪ.

That this statement about the contents should be taken quite literally can be shown by an analysis of the text as a whole. The various parts of the prayer are quite distinct and so different in content that they are even contradictory. The question could be raised whether our prayer is not a compilation. Regrettably, it is not possible at present to discuss overall composition--nor to follow up the very interesting suggestion made by Dvornik that "Molitva sv. Troicě" (actually only a small section of it comes into question) may be related to Latin prayers of the Confiteor type.²⁰ A detailed comparison of the supplication "за вся крестьяны" with the Great Intercession of the Byzantine liturgy also must await another occasion.²¹

The litany of saints in "Molitva sv. Troicě" is a call for intercession to obtain forgiveness of sins and is followed, as is usual in such cases,²² by a series of suffrages for people living and dead (namely, the prayer "for all Christians"). In fact the Russian prayer invokes more than one catalogue of holy persons. An abbreviated list using mostly generic terms for groups of intercessors is followed by the full litany of all the saints. There are discrepancies between the two lists, and they both appear to be faulty.

The section that includes the two litanies is reproduced below with the names of intercessors arranged in columns. The text is based on Arxangel'skij's (his basic manuscript; abbreviation: A₁). Significant variants from his second manuscript (A₂) are given in parentheses and from Šljapkin's fourteenth-century fragment (Š) in square brackets.²³ (The Šljapkin manuscript breaks off after "ликъ сѣихъ жонъ. анно елисафъ. мръ<е>.") Neither Arxangel'skij's nor Šljapkin's edition is diplomatic, and they differ in principles (e.g., Arxangel'skij resolves abbreviations; Šljapkin does not). I do not try to render all their peculiarities.

[НО ТЫ] МИЛОСТИВЕ [МЛСТИВЫ] ГОСПОДИ ПОМИЛУИ МЯ И СПАСИ
МЯ. И ЕЛИКО [ИЖЕ БО ТИ] СЪГРѢШИХ ДУШЕЮ И ТѢЛОМЪ. ИЛИ
СЛОВОМЪ. ИЛИ ДѢЛОМЪ. ИЛИ ПОМЫШЛЕНІЕМЪ. ИЛИ ВѢДАЯ. ИЛИ
НЕ ВѢДАЯ. ИЛИ ВОЛЕЮ. ИЛИ НЕ ВОЛЕЮ. ПРОСТИ МЯ [add:
гси] грѣшнаго [add: и недостойнаго] раба твоего имрк.
[add: и] ТЫ ПРЕЧИСТАЯ ГОСПОЖЕ [гѣе прстая] ВЛАДИЧИЦЕ
[add: бце] МИЛОСТИВАЯ [ВСЕМЛТВАЯ] МАТИ ГОСПОДНЯ. ИЖ.

[иже бо] непрестанно молишися за весь родъ [миръ] крестяньскіи. помолися госпоже за мя грѣшнаго и недостойнаго раба твоего [о мнѣ грѣшнемъ. и недостойнѣмъ рабѣ твоємъ]. имрк.

с михаиломъ
и [add: с] гаврилом.
съ урилом
и [add: с] равоиломъ (раваилом).
[и] съ всѣми аѣгли
[и] архааггли.
съ херовими (херувими)
и [add: с] сераѣими.
и [omit] съ всѣми небесными силами.
съ іоанномъ крестителемъ.
и съ аѣли.
и [omit] съ ѣ ми [четырьми] евангелисты.
и съ пророки
и с мученики.
[и] съ преподобными отци.
и съ патриархи.
и съ безмѣздники.
и съ седмью отроки. [семью отрокъ]
[и] съ младенци [reverse order with following]
и съ ѣ [треми] исповѣдники.
и съ уродивыми Христа ради
[и] с мирноносцами [add: женами].

[и] съ всѣми стѣми ставши у престола господня. пречистѣи руцѣ въздѣвши (воздѣючи) къ милостивому богу. помолися госпоже [add: и] о мнѣ грѣшнемъ [add: и недостойнѣмъ] рабѣ твоєм. имрк. о пречистая госпоже владычице богородице милостивая [всемлстивая] моли [оумоли ба] за мя грѣшнаго.

[вся нбсняя силы]
стѣи аггли
и архааѣгли.
молите бога за мя грѣшнаго.

стѣи іоане пророче и [omit]
предтече [add: крстѣ
гснѣ.]
моли [те] бога за мя грѣшнаго.

стѣи аѣли.
петре.
андрѣе [андрѣю; reverse
order with following]
павле.
іоанне богослове.
якове.
марко.
матѣе [матѣю].
луло.<sic> [omit] [лука]
филиппе. [omit]
фома. [omit]
валѣромѣ [omit] [валѣромѣю]. іоане златоусте.

в кове алѣѣев (якове алѣѣевъ)
[яковъ алѣѣевъ].
іудо яковлѣ [иуда яковлѣ].
вси стѣи аѣли. вселниче [ис-
полници] стѣго духа
молите бога за мя грѣшнаго.

стѣи ильинѣ. [ликъ] папѣю.
анклитѣ (аклитѣ). [omit]
и [omit] климентѣ. [климанте]
селивестрѣ [селевестре].
аве папа (аве папе) [лве папа].
стефане.
георѣе.
зеновѣ [зиновѣ].
власѣ.
воитеше (вѣйтеше).
вси стѣи священномученици
молите бога за мя грѣшнаго.
[omit: за мя грѣшнаго]

стѣи [add: великии] николае.
василѣе.

григоріе богослове. [omit]
 [иѡане бѡслове]
 епифане. [omit]
 [стефане]
 кипріане. [omit]
 георгіе митилинський [ми-
 тулинський].
 григоріе чюдотворче.
 григоріе ниский. (omit) [omit]
 григоріе акраганський. [omit]
 іоане милостивый. [omit]
 амилохіе (анѡилохіе)
 [анѡфилофіе].
 елѡеріе [алѡерье].
 капитоне.
 мартине. [мартыне]
 полукте.
 вси стїи учители [add: и
 сїи.]
 молитє бога за мя грѣшна[го].
 стїи первомученниче [add:
 хсвъ] стефане.
 георгіе (григоріе).
 ѡеодоре [ѡеодоре].
 дмитріе [дмитрее].
 и стїх. м.
 пантелиимоне [пантелѣимоне].
 фроле
 и лавре.
 прокопіе.
 меркуріе.
 андрѣе [андрѣю].
 евстратіе [еоустратье].
 ни кито (никито).
 мино.
 христофоре.
 [вите]
 вячеславе.
 магнуше. [omit]
 конуте. [omit]
 [мануїле.]
 [савеліе]
 венедикте. [вендикте]
 албане. [omit]
 [ізмаїле.]
 олове [алове].
 ботулве (бтулве) [бутулве].
 созоне (софоне)
 рома (романе) [романе].
 анѡиме.
 максиме.
 борисе
 и глѣбе.
 панкратіе.
 вси стїи мученици
 молитє бога за мя грѣшнаго.
 стїи акиме. [стїи иакиме]

захаріе.
 симеоне богопрїимче [семеоне
 боприемце].
 павле фивїе.
 антоне [антонье].
 макаріе.
 ефреме.
 саво.
 ларионе.
 евфиміе [еоуфимье].
 пахоміе.
 арсеніе.
 семіоне [семеоне] столпниче.
 андрѣе [андрѣю] уродивый. хри-
 ста ради.
 [семеоне оуродивый хѣ ради.]
 акакіе.
 ксенофонте [ксенефонте].
 кириле [куриле].
 мефодіе [меѡедье].
 венедикте [вендикте].
 вси стїи [add: бїи] препо-
 добнии [add: оїи].
 молитє бога за мя грѣшнаго.
 стїи исакіе (ісаіе) пророче.
 [omit: see below]
 [стїи пррче.] илѣ.
 [исаіе.]
 еремїе [еремїю].
 даниле.
 іоле [іѡане].
 моисїю.
 аароне [ароне].
 малахіе.
 солломоне [содомоне].
 іона [іѡана].
 аврааме [авраме].
 і [omit] ісааче (исаче) [исае].
 якове.
 аввакуме. [omit: see below]
 енох.
 езикіе [езекіе].
 гедеоне.
 амоне.
 [амбакуме.]
 давиде.
 георгіе оче великий.
 вси стїи пророци
 [постници]
 [пустынїици.]
 [и] молитє бога за мя грѣшнаго.
 <л>икъ стїихъ женъ [жонъ].
 анно (янно).
 елисаветъ [елисафъ].
 марїа [мрѣ<е>] магдалини.
 и стїа мирноносици.
 ѡевроніе.

варваро.	улине.
марино.	е... (уліяно)
соломѣ.	олено.
екатерино.	фосе <?> (фиси.)
агафіе.	ионари <?> (Іона.)
евдокѣ.	гана <?> (риганъ)
маріа. евпѣянина.	вѣрина <?> (вѣринъ)
матрена.	крестино.
теодора.	пелагіе.
настасіе.	сарро.
фекло.	сусано.
маремъно.	агрипѣно.
орино.	кандѣла (кандилъ).
ксеніе.	викторіа.
евфиміе.	лисїа (лусїа).
евпраксїе.	ефросинїа (ефросѣніе).
евроніе.	митродора.
софое (софіе).	нифодора (минфидора).
вѣри<а>.	макрино.
любн.	и все дѣвѣство стое.
надежа. <sic>	моли́те бога за мя грѣшнаго.
евгѣніе.	

As Fr. Dvornik remarks,²⁴ it is unfortunate that Archangel'-skij did not collate more manuscripts for his edition. Other sources might add new names to the litany and clarify some of the puzzling entries. But a commentary may be attempted even so.

The selection and order of intercessors in the first litany is obviously somewhat unusual and probably defective. Patriarchs are separated from prophets by martyrs and venerable fathers (преподобнии); the special mention of anargyric saints (безмѣздници), the Seven Sleepers, the Innocents, and the Three Confessors (?) seems arbitrary; the myrophores are listed, but not holy women generally. The main litany has fewer categories. It adds the special divisions of hieromartyrs and teachers, combines patriarchs and prophets, and changes the order of the middle sections. Perhaps most surprising of all, both litanies omit confessors as a general category.

The structure of the main catalogue (which opens with the second invocation of the Mother of God) is clearly defined. The beginning of each category of intercessors is marked by an initial "святѣи" (serving in effect all the succeeding names) or by the appropriate form of the same adjective plus the distinguishing title of the saints to follow (e.g., "святѣи апостоли"); the end has a summary call to all saints of the type (e.g., "вси святѣи апостоли") plus the refrain "моли́те бога за мя грѣшнаго."

As expected, after the Mother of God, the angels and archangels, and John the Baptist come the Apostles. Their order is exceptional,²⁵ but it is hard to say whether it is an accident or has special significance. Only § has the canonical sequence Peter, Paul, Andrew. The list is most like that in Acts, I, but with Andrew and Matthew moved up in rank, Simon omitted, and the Evangelists Mark and Luke inserted. Most of the early Latin litanies add other Apostles.

The second group are the hieromartyrs (священномученици; i. e., martyrs who were bishops or priests). As has been said by Fr. Dvornik and others, what is remarkable here is the inclusion of Roman popes and of the Czech saint Vojtěch. But Dvornik is

certainly mistaken in translating the opening line as "saint ordre des papes."²⁶ "Папежю" is a vocative singular form and cannot be made into a genitive plural. The word "ликъ" appears only in Š, while A₁ and A₂ have "ильинъ." And the interpretation given ignores the pattern of the litany, which requires these words to be the opening of the list of hieromartyrs, not all of whom are popes. No, the correct translation is: "St. Linus, pope." What we have are the names of the first three successors to St. Peter--Linus, Cletus (also known as Anacletus), and Clement--who regularly occur together in Western litanies.²⁷ (Š omits Cletus.)

The entry after Pope Silvester has also caused a misunderstanding. Dvornik says it is a Latin salutation Ave Papa! rendered in Slavonic characters. This is highly improbable, since such an acclamation would be wholly out of place in a prayer of this sort; and in fact I have seen nothing comparable in Latin litanies. Furthermore, only one manuscript actually has "аве папа." A₂ reads: "аве папе," suggesting that copyists thought "аве" was a personal name and that the whole construction was in the vocative--as indeed the context requires it to be. Š shows the solution: "лве папа"--"Leo, pope." (Note that Leo is mentioned in another prayer cited by Sobolevskij.²⁸)

Probably the next name, Stephen, refers to Stephen I, pope and martyr, whose passio is among the texts preserved in Church Slavonic. But who is the George? The only hieromartyr of this name seems to be the first bishop of Le Puy (date unknown),²⁹ although it is a little peculiar that he appears without his companion saint Fronto.³⁰ Zenobius (died ca. 390?) and Blaise (Blasius; died 316?) were both bishops, but the former was not martyred. St. Vojtěch (Adalbert; died 997), Bishop of Prague, comes last in the list.

The scribes' miscopying of popes' names of course results from their unfamiliarity. The composer of the list also showed his ignorance by including popes Silvester and Leo among hieromartyrs when they were not martyrs at all. Latin litanies place them among the confessors, where Silvester usually heads the column and Leo follows immediately or soon after.

The catalogue of "учители" (Š adds "и святители"--a term reserved for upper ranks of the Russian Church hierarchy) needs less comment at this point, though one should note that not all of these men are regarded today as teachers or doctors of the Church. Š's "иѡане бѣслове" is probably an error for григорие богослове, who is omitted in that copy. The Stephen found only in Š may be Stephen the Younger, victim of the Iconoclast persecution in 764. "Елѡеріе" or "алферье" causes a small problem, because the name is evidently distorted. There are candidates named Eleutherius, but most probably the man is St. Etherius, Bishop in Chersonese and hieromartyr, whose feast day in the East (May 7) is the same as Capiton's who follows next in line. Why they should be classed as teachers is unclear.

The Martin can of course be the first pope of that name (died 656?), who left writings and is highly acclaimed in the Byzantine liturgy. Another good possibility is the great bishop of Tours (died 397)--who is Fr. Dvornik's unreserved choice. Polyeuctus, last in this list, has to be one of the two early martyrs, although they were hardly doctors of the Church.

The choice of martyrs is of extraordinary interest, and I reserve it for special comment later. Next come the venerable

fathers, in the position given to confessors in Western litaniae omnium sanctorum. Joachim (father of the Virgin), Zachary (father of John the Baptist), and Simeon Theodochos are followed by several well-known ascetic saints (Paul of Thebes, Antony, Macarius, Ephraem, Sabbas, Hilarion, Euthymius the Great, Pachomius, Arsenius, Simeon Stylites) and one Greek "fool for Christ's sake" (§ has two of them). The Akakios (Acacius, Acatius) could be any of several men. Xenophon was a venerable father of the sixth century. To this roll are added the Apostles of the Slavs Cyril and Methodius and a St. Benedict who, in Fr. Dvornik's words, "ne peut être que le fondateur du monachisme occidental." That these names and that of Vojtěch above come at the ends of their respective lists suggests that they are additions to a previously existing litany. (Why, one may wonder, were Cyril and Methodius put with ascetics instead of teachers?)

The register of Old Testament prophets (and patriarchs) need not detain us, because they are readily recognizable and have little importance for our present purposes. (§ misplaces the epithets "постници пустыньники," which belong to venerable fathers.)

The chorus of holy women causes the greatest difficulties of identification. Its opening complements that of venerable fathers by giving Ann, mother of the Virgin, and Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist. Next come Mary Magdalen and the myrophores (not named). Then begins the long roll of virgin martyrs, nuns, and penitents--some famous (e.g., Barbara; Marina; Catherine; Mary the Egyptian; Anastasia; Thecla; Euphemia; Faith, Hope, Charity, and their mother St. Wisdom), some more obscure. Febronia occurs twice, although there seems to be only one early saint of that name. Соломѣ may possibly be the ninth-century St. Salome of Ober Altaich in Bavaria, in which case she counts certainly as a Western entry in the litany. (If she is actually Salome the Myrophoros, why is she mentioned separately?) "Маремъ-яно" evidently denotes in distorted form Mariamne, sister of the Apostle Philip. It would seem that орино is the early martyr Irene and олено the Empress Helen of Byzantium. Уліано clearly is to be read Juliana (probably the martyr who died ca. 305 A.D.), but is улиніе a variant of the same or a mistake for a name like Julitta or Junilla? Фосе (фиси) may be Photine or one of her sisters (Photis or Photo).

As his own variants show, the editor is wrong in reading "ионари" and "гана" in A₁. We actually have an иона (Joan; but which one?) and a ригана. The latter may well be Regina, virgin and martyr, of Burgundy (date unknown). Together with Verena, who comes next, she can be viewed as a Western plus. St. Sarah's feast day in the Greek Church is July 13.

An especially interesting puzzle is posed by "кандѣла (кандиль)." If one supposes this to be a corruption of an unfamiliar name, then we may have the Anglo-Saxon St. Candida or Wite (date unknown, but prior to Alfred the Great)--yet another Germanic entry in the litany.³¹ Sobolevskij listed her among saints of the West but with a question mark.

Fr. Dvornik states that the Victoria and Lucia are among the female saints in this litany who were honored almost exclusively in the West; however, Lucia can be found in the Orthodox calendar (December 13). SS. Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora were virgin martyrs whose Greek passio exists only in Simeon Metaphrastes' reworking. It is hard to tell from the confused

spellings whether all three or only two were in the archetype of our text. Concluding the entire litany is Macrina--the grandmother or more probably the sister of St. Basil the Great. Note that we do not have the expected ending: *вси святїи, молитє за мя грѣшнаго.*

Before I return to the catalogue of martyrs (which is my principal concern), it is time to comment on something that must have become evident by now: contrary to our expectations, the litany of saints in "Molitva sv. Troicě" is distinctly Eastern in its composition. Alongside the several Western saints there are many names characteristic of the Eastern Church; and decisive is the fact that the organization is clearly Eastern. Consider all the generic terms that are peculiar to the Orthodox Church: venerable fathers (*преподобнии отци, ὁσίοι*), anargyric or non-mercenary saints (*бездѣдници, ἀνάργυροι*), fools for Christ's sake (*уродивыи Христа ради, οἱ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοί*), hieromartyrs (*священномученици, ἱερομάρτυρες*), and perhaps myrophores.³² Since some of these terms are used for the categories of intercessors, the structure of the litany is quite different from that of litaniae omnium sanctorum, which generally have (with possible modifications): Maria, angels and archangels, patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins.

A probable Eastern feature is the prominent position given to John the Baptist. He is introduced in the so-called Déesis order: God is beseeched by Mary--archangels--John the Baptist. The Déesis arrangement was very much used in Byzantine iconography³³ and had an influence on the literature.³⁴ Notice that our prayer has all the saints literally standing around the Lord's throne with hands raised in supplication--a graphic description of the Déesis. Since, however, this order can sometimes be found in the West also,³⁵ by itself it is inconclusive.

But one can point also to the very characteristic grouping of the doctors Basil, John Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nazianzus; and of the great soldier saints of the East--George, Theodore, and Demetrius, as well as Procopius and Mercurius. Note the inclusion of hermit fathers of the Orthodox world and the preponderance of Greek saints among the holy women. At the same time, one misses many names that normally appear in Latin litanies. To mention but a few: Apostles Matthias and Barnabas; martyrs Sixtus (Xystus), Cornelius, Cyprian, and Sebastian; confessors Ambrose, Augustine, and Hieronymus; virgins Felicitas, Perpetua, Agnes, Cecilia.

The Latin litanies of saints, despite the important variations in their size and make-up, as a group have a great deal in common. But those I have examined show only a vague similarity in structure and sequence of names to the Slavonic litany. Fr. Dvornik, commenting about the presence of a few Western names, wrote, "Ceci indique très clairement que cette prière n'a pu être composée que dans un pays d'obédience romaine." On the basis of an overall analysis of the litany of saints I am forced to say on the contrary that it, at least, cannot have been composed in the form we have it in a Catholic country. It has every appearance of an Eastern litany to which the names of a few Western saints have been added--mostly at the end of categories and en bloc.

Unfortunately, it is more difficult to find editions of relevant Greek litanies for comparison. The present-day Ortho-

dox liturgies have several invocations of saints but rather brief ones and of little real help to us. Some of the falsely attributed Greek prayers and incantations printed by Vasil'ev contain litanies, but here too only a few details are of interest for our purposes.³⁶ Of the four short litanies published by Schermann in 1903³⁷ two underwent Latin influence; or such at least was the opinion of Anton Baumstark, whose own article the following year is a good discussion of counterparts in the East for litanía om-nium sanctorum.³⁸ He found parallels in Eastern liturgies, the Greek Euchologion, exorcistic prayers, and elsewhere. His conclusion was: "Es bleibt nichts im wesentlichen Bilde der römischen litaniae übrig, das sich als etwas anderes erwiese dann als ein dem Orient sowohl wie dem Abendland bekannter Zug gemein-christlichen Gebetes" (p. 115).

Baumstark's sweeping statement can be applied only to general traits, not to all specifics. Nevertheless, it serves to remind us of the great dangers in labelling early religious phenomena purely "Eastern" or "Western." So complex is the history of common sources and reciprocal influences that it is very difficult to find one's way in these matters.³⁹ The solution to the origin of "Molitva sv. Troicě" will demand a fuller analysis of its contents and an extended search in both Latin and Greek sources.⁴⁰

As for the litany of saints taken alone, several logical alternatives present themselves. (1) It could have been translated from Latin and later revised in Russia to more nearly conform with Eastern norms. This seems unlikely, because such a revision would involve a complete restructuring and rewriting, with the elimination of nearly all Western traits except a few names. (2) The litany could have been an original Russian composition or a translation from Greek to which some Western saints were added. This solution will not explain the Latin and Bohemian features that have been seen in other parts of the prayer; but we should keep in mind the possibility that the prayer is a compilation of several sources. (3) There is just a chance that a Greek prayer was translated into Latin and from Latin into Slavonic. Precedents for the first of these steps exist, as in the prayers of Cyprian which are extant in both Greek and Latin recensions.⁴¹

The possibility that "Molitva sv. Troicě" may not be, as a whole, a Western composition does not in any way diminish the significance of the Western names in the litany of saints. Bohemia's role as intermediary is still apparent. And one wishes to know more than ever why precisely these saints came to be named in Russian manuscripts.

Now we may finally turn to the all-important litany of martyrs--the section that has rightly caused the most comment. The Protomartyr Stephen heads the column in proper fashion, but then interesting things begin to happen. Because martyrs from clerical ranks have already been claimed for the special class of hieromartyrs, we are left almost exclusively with laymen. Furthermore, many of the figures are the soldier saints so popular in the East (George, Theodore, Demetrius, the Forty Martyrs, Procopius, Mercurius, and Menas). Andrew--if he is Andrew Stratilates instead of Andrew of Crete, which seems probable in the context--also belongs to this group, as may Florus and Laurus, Nicetas, and others.

St. Sozon was a shepherd of Cicilia martyred perhaps ca. 304 A.D. and whose acts are preserved in two Greek texts. The Romanus causes a problem, because there are several martyrs of the name. Notable are St. Romanus--called in one source a soldier of Rome--who died in 258 A.D. and St. Romanus of Antioch (martyred in 304), said to be he who appears in the Orthodox calendar under November 18.⁴² The best-known martyr called Anthimus was a bishop of Nicomedia who died in A.D. 303 (and ought to be under hieromartyrs), but there are others so named.⁴³ Again, there are several saints called Maximus, including early martyrs--especially Maximus of Ephesus (died A.D. 250), whose quite authentic acts survive. Identification is further complicated by the existence of saints named Maximinus, Maximian, and Maximilian. The more famous of the two martyrs named Pancras (Pancratius) was he of Rome who died perhaps A.D. 304 and is in the Orthodox calendar.

The copy § alone adds Manuel, Sabel, and Ismael (but separating the last two). Sole source of information on these three martyrs is a Greek passio "rich with fantasy."⁴⁴ Supposedly they were Christian youths sent in an embassy from Persia (although their names are Semitic, not Persian) to Julian the Apostate, who had them killed for refusing to sacrifice. Their cult was popular in Constantinople, and they were only a late addition to the Martyrologium Romanum.

The surprise is that this register of early martyrs is interrupted by several saints of the West.⁴⁵ After Christopher comes Vitus (in § but not the other copies), a saint especially venerated in Germany and Bohemia. In fact it is tempting to guess that the compiler started his list of Western names at this point because it was natural to follow the patron of Prague, Vitus, with the native Czech saint Wenceslaus. As we will see, the Russian princes Boris and Gleb also find their places here logically.

There can be no controversy about the identity of ботульве (ботулве) [бутулве]--the English abbot Botulf (Botolph), founder of a monastery at Icanhoh, who died ca. 680. He was not a martyr, but very possibly the Slavic compiler believed him to be. Dvornik says that the Benedict listed here may have been another Anglo-Saxon abbot, the monastic reformer St. Benedict Biscop (died 690), or else St. Benedict of Aniane (died 821). Either of them would belong with Western saints; but, again, neither was martyred. An excellent alternative would be St. Benedict, first of the so-called Polish Brothers, missionaries to Pomerania who were killed near Gniezno in 1003 and venerated as martyrs. One of the principal accounts of them is by the Czech chronicler Cosmas; and in 1038 the Bohemian prince Vratislav, on a campaign in Polish territory, carried off the relics of the Five Brothers at the same time he took those of St. Vojtěch. They were supposedly translated to Olomouc, though a Polish tradition maintained that these were false relics while the real ones remained in Poland.⁴⁶ Two objections could be raised: why of the five is only Benedict named, and why is he not entered beside Vojtěch? One could answer that it is not uncommon for only the first of a group of martyrs to be cited; and Benedict may not belong with hieromartyrs because he was not a bishop.

Alban is identified by Dvornik as the fifth-century saint who became patron of Mainz. This man was indeed honored as a martyr. However, there is no evident reason why our man could

not equally well be St. Alban, protomartyr of Britain, said to have died around 287 A.D. at Verulamium (now St. Albans). His legend was well disseminated and received renewed development after a translation of his relics in 1129. The protomartyr is an appropriate companion for the Anglo-Saxon saints.

Two sainted monarchs are mentioned in the litany. King Olaf of Norway was killed in battle in 1030. This was held to be a martyr's death, and he became his country's national saint. St. Canute, King of Denmark, was assassinated in 1086--a date that definitely becomes a terminus post quem for the litany in its extant form. (He is surely the saint mentioned, rather than the later and lesser-known Canute Lavard, who died in 1131 and was canonized in 1169.)

Then there is a special problem with Magnus. Some early martyrs with that name existed, but this man is placed with more modern saints. Fr. Dvornik believes him to be the founder of the monastery of Füss in Swabia (died about mid-seventh century), a disciple of SS. Columban and Gall who was widely venerated in Germany. This abbot was not a martyr--but neither was Botulf. It is odd, however, that Magnus of Füss should be named but not Columban and Gall (who are in many Latin litanies). I prefer to think that we are dealing with St. Magnus, Earl of Orkney, who was murdered by his cousin Haakon and venerated as a martyr. He fits very well with the Germanic saints and with the other martyred rulers. Admittedly the conjecture causes difficulties, because Magnus of Orkney died in 1115--somewhat too late for the theory of the prayer's composition at Sázava. However, there is a telling fact in favor of this saint: parts of his relics were translated to churches in Norway, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Aachen, and Prague!⁴⁷ It seems that the latest entries in the litany may not have been made before the first half of the twelfth century.⁴⁸

Finally, there is perhaps a special lesson to be learned from the fact that Wenceslaus, Boris, and Gleb--the warrior princes held by their peoples to be martyrs--appear together with soldier saints and with martyred rulers of other lands. On the one hand, the meek image of these princes current today ignores the warriorlike side they also had in early depictions; and, on the other hand, it has been insufficiently recognized that Wenceslaus, Boris, and Gleb as martyred rulers were representatives of a type of saint rather wide-spread in Europe in the late Middle Ages.⁴⁹ Of course the presence of names like Magnus, Olaf, and Canute in the litany does not prove there was a cult of those saints or even much knowledge about them in Slavic lands. It does raise the possibility, nevertheless, that there existed a certain interest in the kind of foreign saint whose veneration could reinforce the cults of the Slavic princes.⁵⁰

Notes

1. For discussion of Latin works in Slavonic translation, and in particular these two prayers, see: Roman Jakobson, "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature," Harvard Slavic Studies, I (1953), 45. Olaf Jansen [= Roman Jakobson], "Český podíl na církevněslovanské kultuře," Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu (Praha, 1940), 14. Roman Jakobson, Moudrost starých Čechů; Odvěké základy národního odboje (New York, 1943), 71-72. Miloš Weingart, Československý typ církevně slovanský

- (Bratislava, 1949), 63-64. F. Dvornik, "The Kiev State and Its Relations with Western Europe," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series, XXIX (London, 1947), 38-39. Francis Dvornik, The Making of Central and Eastern Europe (London, 1949), 242-44. François Dvornik, "Les Bénédictins et la christianisation de la Russie," in: 1054-1954; L'Eglise et les Eglises (1954), I, 326-30 and 344. А. В. Флоровский, Чехи и восточные славяне, I (Прага, 1935), 111. А. В. Флоровский, "Чешские струи в истории русского литературного развития", в сб.: Славянская филология (Москва, 1958), III, 225-26.
2. Любопытный памятник русской письменности XV века (= Памятники древней письменности и искусства, 50 [СПб., 1884]). I. A. Šljapkin printed a fragment of the same prayer from an earlier (fourteenth-century) manuscript in his review of Arxangel'skij in: Журнал Министерства народного просвещения, 1884, № 12, 267-69.
 3. Молитва на дьявола; Церковно-славянский текст западно-славянского происхождения (СПб., 1899). A limited edition in facsimile.
 4. А. И. Соболевский, "Русские молитвы с упоминанием западных святых", Материалы и исследования в области славянской филологии и археологии (СПб., 1910) (= Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности, LXXXVIII), 36-47. Sobolevskij also reprints here the fragment of "Molitva sv. Troicě" originally published by Šljapkin (cf. note 2). I quote from this edition, which has an introduction somewhat revised from that of 1899.
 5. См. Флоровский, "Чешские струи", 213.
 6. А. И. Соболевский, "Несколько редких молитв из русского сборника XIII века", Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности, X (1905), № 4, 66-78.
 7. Sobolevskij gives some details of these other prayers in Materialy, 38-39.
 8. Fr. Dvornik implies that Sobolevskij said St. Olaf died in 1072 (The Making, 243). In fact both are wrong, because the Alban in question died ca. 287 A.D. and Olaf in 1030.
 9. См. Флоровский, Чехи и восточные славяне, 112.
 10. The most recent mention of the prayers in print seems to be the brief remarks of Václav Ryneš in his note "K počátkům úcty sv. Víta v českých zemích," Slavia, 35 (1966), 592-93.
 11. Paul Devos seems to accept Fr. Dvornik's verdict about the prayers but is himself concerned only with vitae in his article "Chronique d'hagiographie slave; I: La Bohême, plaque tournante," Analecta Bollandiana, LXXII (1954), 431.

12. See Maurice Coens, "Anciennes litanies des saints," Recueil d'études bollandiennes (= Subsidia hagiographica, 37) (Bruxelles, 1963), 129-322, and the literature on the subject cited by him. Heinrich Samson, Die Allerheiligenlitanei (Paderborn, 1894), was not available to me.
13. Coens amply demonstrates this. See also Ernst H. Kantorowicz' book Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship (= University of California Publications in History, XXXIII) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), especially the section "The Sequence of Saints and Its Inferences" (pp. 31-53). Kantorowicz shows the close historical connection between medieval laudes (ritualistic acclamations of sovereigns) and the Litany of the Saints.
14. L. Duchesne, Origines du culte chrétien; Etude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne (Paris, 1889), 100ff; E. J. Gratsch, "Liturgical Uses of Litany," in: New Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII (New York, 1967), 789ff; F. Cabrol, "Litanies," in: Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, IX (Paris, 1930), col. 1539-71.
15. The phrase is from Vita S. Austrebertae. Cf. Coens, 136, and Kantorowicz, 35.
16. Edmund Bishop, Liturgica historica (Oxford, 1918), 148-49. Cf. Kantorowicz, 35.
17. See C. Osieczkowska, "La Mosaïque de la porte royale à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et la litanie de tous les saints," Byzantion, IX (1934), 41-83.
18. Gratsch, 790.
19. Coens, 131-32.
20. "Les Bénédictins," 329, n. 1. Relevant texts can be found in Edmundus Martene, De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus (Venediis, 1783), I, especially pp. 278-80 and 294. There are some striking similarities in this source with a portion of the Slavonic prayer but no close parallel.
21. Commentators have asserted that one MS falsely attributes the prayer to St. John Chrysostom; but it is worth noting that the passage in question ("молитва сѣго Іоанна Златоустаго за вся крестѣяны") can be interpreted as referring only to the prayer "for all Christians," not to the work as a whole. Since this section has a resemblance to the so-called Great Intercession of the Byzantine Liturgy of SS. Basil and Chrysostom, the attribution may not be quite as fantastic as first appears.
22. Gratsch, 790.
23. A₁ is a fifteenth-century Volokolamsk trebnik (Moskovskaja duxovnaja akademija MS 332), and A₂ is a Volokolamsk kanonnik of the sixteenth century (MS 319 of the same library).

Šljapkin's MS came from his personal collection. In "Les Bénédictins," p. 326, fn., Fr. Dvornik mistakenly says that Arxangel'skij collated three MSS for his edition; and in The Making, p. 243, fn., he speaks of the Šljapkin text of 1884 and that published by Sobolevskij in Materialy (1910) as though they were from different MSS. Actually, Sobolevskij merely reprinted Šljapkin's text and without making clear whether he personally consulted the MS or just copied Šljapkin's earlier edition. Differences between the editions of Š are insignificant; I have used Sobolevskij's for my variants.

24. "Les Bénédictins," 326, fn.
25. For comparative lists of Apostles, see V. L. Kennedy, The Saints of the Canon of the Mass (= Studi di antichità cristiana, XIV) (Città del Vaticano, 1938), 105; and A. Baumstark, "Das Communicantes und seine Heiligenliste," Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, I (1921), 19.
26. "Les Bénédictins," 327.
27. In fact Fr. Dvornik does say in The Making, p. 243, that Pope Linus is mentioned in this prayer; but he also states that two MSS have "O Holy Order of the Popes." In general, his footnote on p. 243 contains so many errors of fact that it is very misleading.
28. Материалы, 39.
29. Butler's Lives of the Saints, Complete Edition, ed. Herbert Thurston, S. J., and Donald Attwater (New York, 1956), IV, 198f. Much of my information on various saints comes from this work.
30. The fact that the names of Stephen and George follow one another here as they do below under martyrs creates a slight suspicion that the better-known martyrs have been entered twice.
31. Butler's Lives, II, 438-39.
32. Cf. R. P. E. Mercenier, La Prière des églises de rite byzantin, 2nd ed. (1953), II, pt. 1, 29.
33. Cf. Osieczkowska's article, 46ff.
34. А. Кирпичников, "Деисис на Востоке и Западе и его литературные параллели", Журнал Министерства народного просвещения, ССХС (1893), ноябрь, 1-26.
35. Kantorowicz, 48ff.
36. A. Vassiliev, Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, I (Mosquae, 1893), 324-45. Some echoes of our Slavonic litany are: the naming of four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael; the epithets of the Baptist: ἅγιε Ἰωάννη προφήτα καὶ

πρόδρομοι καὶ βαπτίστα τοῦ Χριστοῦ; the grouping of soldier saints George, Demetrius, and Theodore; and the mention of anargyric saints.

37. Theodor Schermann, "Griechische Litaneien," Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, XVII (1903), 333-38.
38. Anton Baumstark, "Eine syrische-melchitische Allerheiligenlitanei," Oriens christianus, IV (1904), 98-120.
39. Kennedy's book and Baumstark's article "Das Communicantes" give much comparative information.
40. At the very last moment and indirectly--through the kindness of Dr. František Mareš--I have learned that Dr. Václav Ryneš of Prague (cf. note 10) is contemplating a major study of "Molitva sv. Troicě" and "Molitva na dъjavola." We can look forward, therefore, to a fruitful discussion of the difficult questions involved.
41. See Theodor Schermann, "Die griechischen Kyprianosgebete," Oriens christianus, III (1903), 303-23.
42. Mercenier, 39.
43. Σωφρόνιος Εὐστρατιάδης, 'Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου 'Εκκλησίας (no date), 42-43.
44. See J.-M. Sauget in: Bibliotheca Sanctorum, VIII (Roma, 1967), col. 637-38.
45. Fr. Dvornik in both The Making and "Les Bénédictins" speaks of a St. Victor in this prayer and identifies him with a martyr in Switzerland. But in fact there is no St. Victor mentioned at all! The mistake seems to have come about because Dvornik simply repeated Sobolevskij's list of the prayer's Western saints, among whom is Victoria.
46. P. Naruszewicz, in: Bibliotheca Sanctorum, II (Roma, 1962), col. 1218. Cf. Jakobson, "The Kernel," 47; and Dvornik, "Les Bénédictins," 346.
47. David McRoberts, in: Bibliotheca Sanctorum, VIII, col. 551.
48. It is tempting to surmise that the fact the Swedish national saint, King Eric (died ca. 1160), is not included with Olaf and Canute may help date the litany in the first half of the twelfth century.
49. See the remarks of Donald Attwater in his book Saints of the East (New York, 1963), 129.
50. The consequences of these observations will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming study of the prince-martyr in Slavic literature.

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The prosody of Finnish epic folk poetry has been described, with clarity and in detail, in Sadeniemi's Metrik des Kalevala-Verses.¹ This material has important implications for a general theory of prosody which have not yet been drawn. To point out some of these is one of the purposes of the following remarks. Another is to demonstrate that what seem to be systematic classes of exceptions to the general metrical rules established by Sadeniemi actually turn out to be fully regular as soon as justice is done to the phonological structure of the Finnish language. Of the three sections of this paper, the first simply summarizes, and in part slightly reformulates, the essential features of the Kalevala line as stated by Sadeniemi. Section two is a discussion of alliteration, in which a new solution is given to the paradox of vowel (or zero) alliteration. Section three analyzes the specific form of the phonological representations to which the metrical constraints must apply. Towards the end of the paper I indulge in some speculation about the role of sound change and morphophonemics, and their interaction, in the development of metrical systems.

1. The Metrical Structure of the Line

The Kalevala is composed of octosyllabic lines in which the distribution of quantity and stress is subject to certain restrictions. For example, while the following three lines are correctly formed

Luvan antoi suuri Luoja	'The great Creator gave permission'
Selässä meren sinisen	'On the expanse of the blue sea'
Oi Ukko ylijumala	'O Ukko, supreme god'

these two, likewise octosyllabic, violate the metrical rules:

Rakas oli oma emo	'Dear was (my) own mother'
Vanhalla Väinämöisellä	'Old Väinämöinen (adessive)'

To formulate the constraints on quantity and stress it is necessary to assume an underlying trochaic meter for all lines of the Kalevala. The metrical scheme for a line can be represented as | 1 * | 2 * | 3 * | 4 * |, where the downbeats (ictuses, strong positions) are numbered and the upbeats starred. But the realization of this abstract verse pattern in concrete verse instances² is very complex. A recitation of the verses would give prominence to the first syllable of each word, in accordance with the rule of Finnish word stress. Only the first of the three acceptable lines just cited would therefore receive an actual trochaic rhythm in reading, while on the other hand, the first of the two unacceptable lines would also receive a perfect trochaic rhythm. The coincidence of downbeat and stress is therefore neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the metrical correctness of a line.

The fundamental rule defining the Kalevala meter in terms of the underlying trochaic pattern is this:

- (A) Stressed syllables must be long on the downbeat and short on the upbeat.

To this the immediate qualification must be added that the stringency with which the rule applies increases from zero to 100 per cent as we progress from the first foot to the fourth. In the first foot the rule is waived completely: the occurrence of quantity is metrically free. In the second foot the rule applies, but is frequently broken. In the third it is considerably tightened, but we still find exceptions. In the fourth foot the rule is implemented without fail. There is not a single case in Sadeniemi's sample which violates (A) in the fourth foot. Such increase of metrical strictness towards the end of the line is an interesting and almost constant feature of numerous widely differing metrical systems of the world.

Metrical rules are formulated with design and not instance in mind: in actual verse we do, for example, get a statistical preponderance of long syllable in the first downbeat. Two thirds of the lines begin with a long syllable. But Sadeniemi shows by statistical argument that this is simply due to the facts that: (1) the great majority of monosyllabic words are long in Finnish and (2) a majority of polysyllabic words also begin with a long syllable.

Non-initial (unstressed) syllables, whether long or short, can come freely on both the upbeat and the downbeat of any foot. Monosyllabic words count as normal stressed syllables.

In addition to the fundamental rule (A) which implements the underlying trochaic pattern through the linguistic features of stress and length, there exist certain metrical tendencies or preferences which impart other regularities, of a statistical and stylistical nature, to the meter of the Kalevala. Two are of especial interest here because of their wide implications and effects on the verse.

The first tendency can be stated as follows:

- (B) Other things being equal, the words of a line are arranged in order of increasing length.

Sadeniemi rightly emphasizes, as others have done, the universal character of this tendency, and its validity outside of strict metrics (e.g. rough and ready, one and only but hardly the reverse).

It is at one point in the line that the tendency towards increasing length hardens into a law. As might be expected, this position of especial strictness is the final foot:

- (C) A monosyllabic word is not permitted at the end of a line.

Observe that (C) is strongly reinforced by other rules. Long monosyllables are prohibited in final position anyway because of rule (A), and certain classes of short monosyllables (e.g. conjunctions) cannot occur last in the line for purely syntactic reasons. What justifies the inclusion of (C) at all, therefore, is the fact that even when these other conditions do not operate to exclude a final monosyllable, rule (C) holds without exception.

- (D) A break often occurs between the 4th and 5th syllables.

There is, in other words, a tendency for a word-boundary to split the line into two quadrisyllabic cola. Sadeniemi adduces this tendency to explain various facts: the otherwise incomprehensible absence of lines containing a four-syllable word flanked by two dissyllables; the regularly long quantity of the 5th syllable in lines containing a dissyllable followed by a word of six syllables; the fact that the first and third downbeats are the preferred sites of alliteration.³ While the break is not mandatory, lines which neither have a break nor follow rule (B) are rare indeed.

2. The Alliteration Paradox

Most lines (but not all) alliterate in one of two possible ways. The preferred type of alliteration is for words to share the initial consonant (if any) and the first vowel. We shall term this C₀V-alliteration, and distinguish a subtype (a), with a consonant, and a subtype (b), with no consonant.

C₀V (a) Lappalainen laiha poika

C₀V (b) Astu leski aitastasi

The second type of alliteration, where only the initial consonant (if any) is shared, is three times less frequent. In this type, C₀-alliteration, the analogous two subtypes (a) and (b) can be distinguished.

C₀ (a) Selässä meren sinisen

C₀ (b) Oi Ukko Ylijumala

Not only in Finnish poetry, but also in the independent traditions of Germanic and Irish poetry, there is an equivalence, in terms of function and frequency, between the subtypes (a) and (b) within both C₀V- and C₀-alliteration. No matter whether the favorite form of alliteration is C₀V, as in Finnish, or C₀, as in Germanic, the subtypes with and without the consonant are treated identically. This equivalence is so ubiquitous that it can hardly be just a prosodic convention, but must be intrinsic to the nature of alliteration itself.

Yet this equivalence seems quite paradoxical. Why should the one-segment alliteration a...a... everywhere correspond not to the one-segment alliteration t...t... but to the two-segment alliteration ta...ta...? And why should a...i... be a case of alliteration at all, just as much as ta...ti... is? What is it that alliterates in a...i...? It cannot be that the vowels alliterate with each other, for alliteration does not disregard any phonological features: t...p... or t...d... are not cases of alliteration.

In Germanic metrics this equivalence of subtypes (a) and (b) is usually explained by assuming that ostensibly vowel-initial words actually began with a glottal stop, and that this glottal stop functioned as the alliterating consonant.⁴ All alliteration is thereby reduced to subtype (a). This explanation has been rightly criticized by Jakobson, who pointed out that the assumption of a glottal stop before vowels word-initially is unsupported for the old Germanic languages.⁵ The fact that such glottal stops are not found in Finnish makes this explanation out of the question for Finnish and helps to cast further doubt on its validity in Germanic.

Jakobson instead sought the locus of alliteration in the (b) subtypes on the phonemic level. He argued that vowel-initial words actually begin with a zero phoneme /#/ , defined as a lax glide corresponding to the tense glide /h/. In this zero phoneme he saw the missing alliterating consonant in the (b) subtypes. I doubt, however, whether it is necessary to set up such a zero phoneme on purely linguistic grounds in any of the Germanic languages or in Finnish. It would have no synchronic function at all, and its distribution would be quite unlike /h/ or any other phoneme.

The search for an alliterating consonant which would get rid of subtype (b) appears to have failed. The resolution to the alliteration paradox must lie elsewhere.

Let us instead rethink the concept of alliteration itself. The paradox vanishes if the nature of alliteration is clearly defined. The source of the paradox is that alliteration is thought of as necessarily involving repetition of actual phonological segments (phonetic or phonemic) in two or more words of a line. Let us instead consider it as identity of portions of words defined by an alliteration schema fixed by poetic convention. Examples of such schemata are:

#C ₀ V	(Finnish, one type)
#C ₀	(Finnish, the second type)
#C ₀ (V)	(Finnish, general schema)
# $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} [s] [+obstr] \\ C_0^1 \end{array} \right\}$	(Germanic)

These schemata can be framed in the notation developed by Chomsky and Halle for phonological rules.⁶ Here C_n^m means "at least n, at most m consonants," and C₀¹ accordingly means "one or zero consonants."⁷ The symbol # denotes a word boundary.

We define the analysis of a word by schema P as the biggest piece of it which satisfies P. We can now say that two words in a line alliterate if their analyses are identical.⁸

For example, the words tupa and tapa alliterate by the schema #C₀ because the biggest piece which fits that schema is the identical string #t in both words. Similarly, ukko and akka alliterate by the same schema because the biggest piece which fits it is the identical string # in both words. But tapa and pata do not alliterate because their analyses are the different strings #t and #p, and tapa and akka do not alliterate because their analyses are the different strings #t and #.⁹

Vowel alliteration, or, to use Jakobson's more felicitous term, zero alliteration, is thus simply the special case in which C₀ in the schema is interpreted as "zero consonants." The paradox engendered by the false notion of alliteration as repetition of segments has disappeared. The question "What segments alliterate in ukko and akka?" was unanswerable because it was wrongly put. The correct question is "What schema do they fit?"

3. The Morphophonemic Basis of the Meter and Alliteration

The regularities described in sections one and two above have numerous exceptions if they are regarded as applying to superficial representations of words. Alliteration furnishes a simple example of this. In C₀V-alliteration, according to the

schema proposed above, a geminated vowel can act as the alliterating partner of a simple one:

Kulki kuusissa hakona

The schema also correctly reflects the fact that vowels alliterate with the initial segments of diphthongs, e.g. e with ei, a with ai, and so on. But oddly enough, the long partner of a in C₀V-alliteration is a diphthong whose pronunciation is oa in some dialects of Eastern Finland, ua in others, and which corresponds to standard Finnish aa. These diphthongs do not C₀V-alliterate with o and u, as would be expected since their first segment is o or u. (Of course, the diphthongs oa, ua do C₀-alliterate with o and u, as they do with every other vowel for the reasons discussed in the preceding section. It is C₀V-alliteration which is relevant here.) Similarly, the alliterating partners of e, o, ö are ie, uo, yö:

Somer soitti, hiekka helkki

The explanation for this apparently deviant alliteration pattern is the fact that these diphthongs are morphophonemically geminated vowels. Alliteration, then, is defined on morphophonemic representations, or, at any rate, on representations to which the diphthongization rule has not applied. The alliteration schema is applied while oa (ua) is represented in its underlying form /aa/, and ie, uo, yö are represented in their underlying forms /ee/, /oo/, /öö/. Their alliteration then conforms to the general schema given above. Among the reasons for representing these diphthongs as underlying monophthongs is the fact that if moa, mua is /maa/, tie is /tee/, and so on, then forms such as the plural cases maissa, maita, teissä, teitä can be derived by the same general rule which yields puissa, puta, from puu, or pyissä, pyitä from pyy, and so on in all stems with geminate vowels at the end.

In meter the role of underlying representations is even greater than in the case of alliteration, and much more complex. Consider the following lines from the poetry of Ingermanland:

Vapa vaskinen keäjessä

Otin oinon, toin kottiin

Both of these lines, and hundreds of others like them, are perfectly acceptable and legitimate instances of the Kalevala meter. Yet they appear to violate the rules given in section one. The first line has a long stressed (i.e. word-initial) syllable keä- in the upbeat of the third foot, in a position where rule (A) requires that stressed syllables must be short. The second line has a long syllable kot- in the third upbeat, in violation of rule (A); in addition, it is anomalous in containing only seven syllables instead of the required eight.

A consideration of the underlying forms and the rules which relate them to the phonetic shapes will clarify these seeming irregularities. The exact form of the rules does not interest us here, so that a fairly informal notation will do. The order of the rules, however, is essential to the discussion which follows.

(1) <u>Epenthesis</u>	[V]	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{-grave} \end{array} \right]$	[i]	#	
	1	2	3	4	→ 1 3 2 3 4

(7) Diphthongization

The diphthongization rule has already been described in connection with the discussion of alliteration at the beginning of this section. It raises the first mora of long vowels, e.g. ee, oo, öö > ie, uo, yö, and aa, ää > oa, eä. The former type of diphthongization, which applies to mid vowels, is found in standard Finnish also, but the latter type, which applies to low vowels, is restricted to eastern Finland.

Examination of the metrics reveals that the operation of rules (3) - (7) is disregarded in the metrics.¹¹ Returning again to the line

Vapa vaskinen keäjessä

we note that the long stressed syllable keä- arises from the operation of rules (3), gemination of vowels, and (7), diphthongization. The derivation is /kätessä/ > (2) käessä > (3) kääessä > (7) keässä, with keäjessä the result of an automatic glide insertion. Up to the operation of rule (3) the word is metricaly perfectly correct. In the case of the line

Otin oinon, toin kottiin

the underlying form /kotihi/ is again perfectly compatible with the meter. The violation of syllabicity is only the result of the contraction produced by rule (4), and the long initial syllable kot- which violates rule (A) comes about by the operation of consonant gemination (rule 5).

It is important to note that the operation of rules (3) - (7) not only may be disregarded in the metrics; it must be. For example, the secondary geminates produced by rule (3) almost never make the preceding syllable metricaly long, whereas underlying geminates almost always do so (Sadeniemi, p. 51).

Rules (3) - (7) are disregarded by the meter, but the same is not true of rules (1) and (2). For example, the operation of consonant gradation is always metricaly relevant. The long initial syllable of underlying /keskellä/ 'in the middle' becomes short by consonant gradation (rule 2). Such a syllable is virtually without exception metricaly short (Sadeniemi, p. 52) so that a line like

Istuu voan kesellä merta

is fully regular according to rule (A) of section one.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts, then, is that the metrical correctness of a line depends on its form at a certain cutoff-point in the derivation, namely the representation obtained after the application of rule (2) but before the application of rule (3). This is not a trivial fact. One could, after all, imagine a situation in which there would be no such cutoff-point, and the metricaly disregarded rules would not form a continuous sequence in the ordering.

Some remarkable consequences may be deduced from these facts. Consider forms like sukkain 'my sock(s)', pojain 'my boy(s)', from underlying forms sukka+ni, poika+ni. Their derivation is as follows:

Underlying form	sukka+ni
(1) Epenthesis	sukkaini

(2) Consonant gradation	<u>sukaini</u>
(5) Consonant gemination	<u>sukkaini</u>
(6) Apocopation	<u>sukkain</u>

In such cases epenthesis happens to have the effect of making the second syllable both closed, so that the consonant gradation applies, and long, so that the degeminated consonant is geminated back again by rule (5). Recalling now that the metrical cutoff-point is between rules (2) and (3), we are led to the prediction that the metrical value of the word should be sukaini, its form after the application of rule (2). That means that the word should be metrically trisyllabic, and, most extraordinarily, that its initial syllable should be metrically short although it is long both morphophonemically and phonetically. This is in fact exactly the situation described by Sadeniemi (p. 52), who gives a list of lines like

Peälle sulkkuse sukkain

Annan ainuvan pojaini

which confirms this prediction. These lines are metrically correct only if scanned sukaini, pojaini, with the short initial syllable produced by rule (2).

These two lines also illustrate the optional character of apocopation (rule 6). It has applied in sukkain but not in pojaini.

A second unexpected consequence is that there are numerous homonymous words which have different metrical values. According to the rules which have been formulated above, words like /pakko+hon/ '(illative) compulsion' and /pako+hon/ '(illative) flight' merge phonetically to pakkoon. However, they retain distinct forms at the metrical cutoff-point, where the first syllable of one is long and the first syllable of the other is short. In fact, words of the former type almost invariably begin on the downbeat, whereas those of the latter type almost invariably begin on the upbeat, as required by rule (A). Cf. Sadeniemi, p. 51. These, then, are word pairs which are always homonymous but never metrically equivalent.

It would be natural to look for a historical explanation for these facts instead of the morphophonemic one which has been proposed here. Could not one assume that the verses were all composed at a time when none of the sound changes corresponding to rules (3) - (7) had yet taken place, and handed down across the generations until collected in the 19th century? Such a theory would grossly underestimate the creative aspect of a tradition of oral epic poetry. As Sadeniemi points out (pp. 49ff., 104), the singers of the 19th century composed many new poems on known occasions, which were recorded at the time and are found to observe an abstract metrical form just as did the older forms. Since most of the rules in the sequence from (3) to (7) date back at least to medieval times, a coherent defense of this simplest form of the historical explanation is hard to imagine.

But if we grant that the basis of the meter is a synchronic, non-phonetic level of representation, it still makes sense to ask what the role of history may be in the formation of such an abstract metrics. There is no reason at all to deny that the system itself which we have described might have a historical explanation. A thousand years ago the metrically relevant forms may

well have been phonetic. We can then assume that after the sound changes corresponding to rules (3) - (7) took place, the existing body of poetry was reinterpreted by successive generations of singers as metrically based on abstract, non-phonetic forms of a fixed kind, namely those reached at our cutoff-point, and new poetry of the same kind continued to be created. The superficial violations of the trochaic pattern and rule (A) which the sound changes produced were not viewed as mistakes but as the norm to be learned and imitated by the apprentice singer. The singers were able to learn and continue this norm in a creative way because they knew (unconsciously, of course) the morphophonemic structure of Finnish, and the sound changes continued to operate as living morphophonemic processes in the synchronic sound pattern of the language. They could therefore learn (again, unconsciously) to disregard these morphophonemic processes in order to continue as closely as possible the traditional body of poetry which they had learned by listening to older singers.

But this is only possible if the sound changes stay in the grammar as productive morphophonemic processes, as rules (3) - (7) unquestionably did. If the sound changes result in restructuring of the lexicon,¹² leaving no synchronic trace behind of their former existence, a different situation results. This situation is one in which the poets are unable to understand the metrical form of much of the traditional poetry, because it is composed in a language which they cannot reach simply by peeling away some of the morphophonemic rules of their unconscious grammar. Illustrations of this other type of situation are numerous. For example, the final -e's which English lost after Chaucer wrote in the fourteenth century were by and large lost not only phonetically, but also from underlying forms, since the synchronic alternations of the language did not provide any reason for retaining them. As a result, Chaucer's poetry was regarded as metrically irregular for many centuries, though written in the perfectly familiar iambic pentameter. One cannot read him now without the kind of philological information that became available only in the last two hundred years. Or, to cite another case, so-called diectasis (or "distension") in Homer is essentially the attempt of later singers to make sense out of vowel contraction in morphophonemically opaque forms, where the right uncontracted form had been irrevocably lost because no morphophonemic alternations gave any clue about its original shape.

Even if the sound changes which bring about the metrical violations are retained as productive morphophonemic rules in the language, and the underlying forms of the earlier period are retained unchanged, one should still expect some disruption of metrical intelligibility if the synchronic order of the rules is significantly different from the relative chronology in which the corresponding sound changes applied. For if such reordering has taken place, a situation could easily arise in which the former system of phonological rules, necessary for scanning the older poetry, cannot be derived from the new system simply by omitting a block of rules from the end. The morphophonemic rules corresponding to the most recent sound changes would form a discontinuous sequence, and some of them would precede morphophonemic rules corresponding to historically older sound changes, which could not be disregarded in scanning.¹³ Of the seven Finnish rules discussed here, only one is ordered in historically the "wrong" place. The epenthesis rule (rule 1), a fairly recent

change of some eastern dialects, is synchronically ordered before consonant gradation, a much older rule of at least Balto-Finnic date. The gradation of poikaini (from underlying /poika+ni/ to pojaini (ultimately pojain[i]) is therefore analogical, since the closed syllable which causes gradation in this word is of much later origin than the gradation rule itself. The epenthesis rule has shifted into its present early position in the sequence of rules by a secondary reordering.¹⁴ Presumably, then, poems composed before this reordering would have presented certain metrical anomalies after it, since the operation of consonant gradation would have been metrically relevant except in the cases like pojaini where it had originated only by the recent analogical extension resulting from the reordering of the epenthesis rule. If this situation ever existed, the attested poetry seems to have no trace of it. The new instances of gradation have come to be treated exactly like the old ones, so that pojaini, for example, has a short initial syllable as its metrical value.

I would suggest, then, that phonological restructuring sets certain limits on the direct continuity of a poetic tradition. Restructuring is irrevocable change, and to the extent that restructuring has taken place with respect to metrically significant features of the language, the metrical structure of poems composed in the older language will be understood as "faulty" in terms of the new linguistic system. Extreme cases may even be imagined in which the phonological changes are so far-reaching and disruptive that the older poems not only seem faulty but metrically unintelligible. This might suggest implications for the study of change in metrical systems.

But we must also ask about the synchronic significance of such metrical systems. What conclusions, from the viewpoint of synchronic phonology and of poetics, may be drawn from the metrics of the Ingermanland epics?

That the metrical value of a line should be determined by its representation at a certain point in the synchronic derivation lends support for the theory of phonology proposed by Chomsky and Halle. The cutoff-point which we found between rules (2) and (3) would of course not exist in a phonology based on unordered realization rules. The metrical system of the Kalevala could not be described in its full generality on the basis of such a phonology. But by the same token, the existence of such a metrical cutoff-point poses an interesting problem which generative phonology at present is not in a position to solve. Generative phonology has disclaimed the existence of any linguistically significant representation intervening between the morphophonemic and phonetic levels. Yet here there is an intervening level which plays a systematic role in the metrics. To be sure, it is not the autonomous phonemic level posited by structuralism, but a good deal more abstract than that. Still, it would be of interest to see whether the metrical cutoff-point can be characterized in any general terms, and whether the representations reached at that point in Finnish, or the equivalent level defined in the same general terms in other languages, has any systematic status in phonology at all. Even if this should turn out not to be the case, the fact that an intervening level of representations is even accessible, as its function in metrics shows, is psychologically of some importance.

The conclusions reached in this paper demonstrate the abstractness of metrical structure in two different respects.

First, they show how necessary it is to draw, with Jakobson, the distinction between the underlying design of verse and its actual instantiation. The extreme complications which would result from attempting to describe the possible lines of the Kalevala without assuming an underlying trochaic pattern, reflected only indirectly in the actual realization, are obvious when the facts discussed in section one are kept in mind. Secondly, they show the abstractness of the linguistic representations which metrical rules can operate to constrain. Neither meter nor alliteration can be understood unless the morphophonemic structure of the language is understood.¹⁵

Notes

1. M. Sadeniemi, Die Metrik des Kalevala-Verses, Folklore Fellows Communications No. 139, Helsinki, 1951.
2. R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in T. A. Sebeok, (ed.) Style in Language, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1960; M. Halle and S. J. Keyser, "Chaucer and the Study of English Prosody," College English 28.187-219 (1966); M. Halle, "Linguistic Aspects of Poetic Meter," Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Linguists (forthcoming).
3. Alliteration is confined to word-initial syllables, which, however, need not necessarily be strongly stressed. Sadeniemi has observed several preferential tendencies concerning the locus of alliteration apart from the preference for the beginnings of the cola. Favorite carriers are: (1) adjacent words (2) relatively long words (3) downbeats in general.
4. See e.g. E. Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik, Halle 1893; A. Heusler, Deutsche Versgeschichte I, Berlin-Leipzig 1925.
5. R. Jakobson, "On the So-called Vowel Alliteration in Germanic Verse," Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft, und Kommunikationsforschung 16.85-92 (1963).
6. N. Chomsky and M. Halle, The Sound Pattern of English, New York, 1968. It is not self-evident that this should be the case. One could easily imagine prosodic schemata which could not be stated in the notation which is needed for phonological rules. The comparison between Germanic alliteration and Gothic reduplication strikingly illustrates the detailed analogies which may be found between phonology and prosody.
7. Because Finnish has no initial consonant clusters, I write simply C_0 "any number of consonants" instead of C_0^1 in the schema for Finnish, though the actual number of consonants covered by C_0 is always either one or zero in this language.
8. Actually, identity of analyses by some schema is a generalized definition of the concept of assonance conceived in its broadest sense. The distinction between alliteration and rhyme is given by the formal properties of the schemata. All schemata which begin with the word boundary # are

schemata for alliteration; all schemata which end with # are schemata for rhyme, and so on.

9. It will be seen that the Germanic alliteration schema correctly reflects the fact that st, sp, and sk alliterate only with themselves, whereas other consonant clusters beginning with s, such as sn, sl, alliterate with any word beginning with s other than the three clusters mentioned.
10. The traditional assumption that compensatory lengthening is involved is cogently criticized by M. Rapola, Suomen kielen äännehistorian luennot, Helsinki, 1966, pp. 386-389. Rapola notes that it is restricted to certain vowel combinations.
11. For other, less complex examples of the interaction of morphophonemics and metrics, see p. 90 of Jakobson's article cited in note 5, and V. Zeps, "The Meter of the So-called Trochaic Latvian Folksongs," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics 7.123-128 (1963).
12. On the concept of restructuring, see e.g. R. Jakobson, "Principles de phonologie historique," Selected Writings, Vol. I (The Hague, 1962); M. Halle, "Phonology in Generative Grammar," in Fodor and Katz (eds.) The Structure of Language (New York, 1964); and the article by G. Lakoff in this volume.
13. On reordering of rules as a form of analogical change, see P. Kiparsky, "Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change," in Bach and Harms (eds.) Universals in Linguistic Theory (forthcoming).
14. I have proposed in the cited article that reordering proceeds in the direction which maximizes the application of rules. The present case supports this hypothesis, since the rules end up in what is there termed feeding order. That is, the epenthesis rule, in its new place, adds new instances which meet the structural analysis of the consonant gradation rule.
15. This work was supported in part by the National Institutes of Health (Grant MH-13390-02).

SYLLABO-STANZAIC STABILITY AND THE
UKRAINIAN KOLOMYJKA: A CASE STUDY

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1. The Materials

The discussion in this paper is based on a Ukrainian mock mass ("Služba Boža") which I recorded on two different occasions in the summer of 1961 at Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. One of these occasions was a party in honor of an engaged couple; the other was a gathering of menfolk at a beach-house owned by a large Ukrainian fraternal society.

The "Služba Boža" performed by my informants was a parody on the church mass, a "take-off" which could be sung at any party which included the presence of one or more individuals schooled in this particular form of entertainment. All-male gatherings, such as 'stags,' are generally most conducive for the performance of the mock "Služba Boža" since the absence of the female sex allows the participants to throw off any inhibitions they may have regarding the content of their material which can become markedly lewd and obscene.

Except for the chorus, each verse is sung by an individual who usually stands up during the singing of the chorus or refrain in order to indicate in this manner that he has recalled a suitable verse and is ready to deliver it as soon as the chorus is ended. Technically speaking, then, the chorus serves as a time-break between verses when the change of individual singers is made; or, if the singer volunteers to sing an additional verse, he then has enough time to prepare for the next one.

It is necessary to select only a few random lines from the first page of the Služba Boža which the informants hear and themselves perform every Sunday in church to see the formal likenesses in their parody of the mass:

A. (Excerpts from "Služba Boža Sv. Otcja našoho I. Zlotoustoho")¹

Ljude: Amin'.

Svjaščenyk: V spokoji Hospodu pomolimos'.

Ljude: Hospody, pomyluj!

Svjaščenyk: Za spokij z vysoty,
i za spasinnja duš našyx,
Hospodu pomolimos'!

Ljude: Hospody, pomyluj!

Svjaščenyk: Za spokij ciloho svitu,
za roscvit svjatyx Božyx cerkov
i za zjednannja vsix,
Hospodu pomolimos'!

Ljude: Hospody, pomyluj! (3 razy).

B. (Excerpts from the parody, "Služba Boža")

Chorus: Amin'.

25. JIxala Xyma z JErusalyma,
Ta na starij taradajci,
Zi staroju kobylyjakoju.

Chorus: Tak bulo, tak bulo, tak bulo.

26. Taradajka skyxočyt'
A kobyla laje...

Chorus: Obskubav kobylu (3).

49. V Gimli perohy,
V Gimli perohy,
V Gimli holobci.
Xto jix narobyv,
Xto jix narobyv,
Najharniši divčatočka.

Chorus: Dva z polovynoju (3).

Like the "Ljude" in A., above, so too the chorus in B. acts out the part of the congregation which sings the response to the invocations of the priest who, together with the sexton (or djak) is represented in the parody by the individual performers.

In contrast to the diligently compiled Soviet collections of antyrelihijsnoji narodnoji tvorčosti,² there is no reason to believe that the parodied Služba Boža found in the Appendix at the end of this paper is a deliberate attack against the Church. In this connection, one is prompted to reiterate the views of R. Jakobson who has emphasized that religious parodies such as these are not meant to be irreverent to the Church nor are they introduced in a mocking spirit of scepticism: they are an expression of the jollity of the folk.³

2. The Problem

Except for Nos. 25,⁴ 26, 29, and 49, the parody of the Služba Boža is, in effect, a string of *kolomyjky* with a simple refrain interpolated between each *kolomyjka*-stanza. As pointed out by F. Kolessa,⁵ the *kolomyjka* is the dominant and most productive genre to be found in the contemporary Ukrainian folk song tradition. Its two most characteristic features are its rhythmic form and its epigrammatic compactness. The *kolomyjka* has a bipartite structure of two lines, each line being composed of 14 syllables and divided into 7 trochaic feet. Each line is followed by a mandatory syntactic pause and is itself divided by three breaks into three cola: 4 + 4 + 6. The strongest stress is on the second last syllable. The basic structure, then, is as follows:

'xxxx | 'xxxx | 'xxxxxx || (for both lines).

In terms of melodic rhythm, the *kolomyjka*-line, above, is divided into four symmetrical bars or measures ($\frac{1}{2}$ = half-note, $\frac{1}{4}$ = quarter-note):

$\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ |.

A certain amount of variation within the confines of the above patterns is considered to be within the tradition of the *kolomyjka*-form.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss divergencies from the normal 14-syllable line of the *kolomyjka* as found in the materials reproduced in the Appendix.

It is necessary at this point to retract the term "sung" in reference to the form of delivery employed by my informants

in performing their "Služba Boža." The only segments to which this term is applicable are the refrains (Ty brešyš, Dva z polovynoju, Tak bulo, Obskubav kobylyu, To pravda, Ne pravda) and the initial Amin', all of which were *sung* in two and three-part harmony. None of the *kolomyjka*-verses, however, were sung; rather they were intoned or chanted, and occasionally they took on a purely recitative form of delivery. The actual *kolomyjka*-melodies were in all cases completely suppressed in favor of a style of delivery that is organically and traditionally foreign to the *kolomyjka*.

Liturgical music in churches of the Eastern Rite is characterized by the following features:

- 1) it has free prose rhythm; the length of the bar is determined by the text lines, which are prose lines of uneven length;
- 2) it is highly dignified; there is no repetition of words or syllables;
- 3) its flow is smooth and legato in contrast to accented, staccato passages;
- 4) it is broad and noble in feeling; the note values are long, and there is not undue vocalization;
- 5) intervals are similar to those found in the folk song, except for the avoidance of wide leaps.⁶

As the above summary suggests, the attempt to adapt the *kolomyjka* to the style of delivery found in liturgical music immediately caused a tension between the compact, rigid form of the *kolomyjka* and the free prose rhythm of the chant. By superimposing this style of delivery onto the *kolomyjka*-verse, the structure of the *kolomyjka* was in danger of disintegrating. For these reasons, then, the *kolomyjky* in our "Služba Boža" offer a unique opportunity to examine the possible vulnerability, so to speak, of their 14-syllable line structure.

Finally, it can not be overemphasized that, as a parody on the mass, the principal parodic features of our "Služba Boža" are not to be found in the text, but are very much linked to its form of delivery. Otherwise, any attempt to divorce the style of delivery from the "Služba Boža" in the Appendix would make almost incomprehensible its very title which is given to this particular event by the participants themselves.⁷

3. The Divergencies

The following table illustrates the number of departures or divergencies from the 14-syllable frame of the *kolomyjka*-line as found in the materials reproduced in the Appendix:⁸

	$\frac{A}{(4 + 4)}$	$\frac{B}{(6)}$
Line <u>I</u>	20	9
Line <u>II</u>	11	9

As mentioned earlier, certain divergencies from the 14-syllable line are considered as acceptable variants. The initial A-segment of the line frequently changes from (4 + 4) to (4 + 3), and sometimes to (3 + 4): No. 3: Oj mij tato | buy

zlodij (= 4 + 3); No. 39: Nas obox | obikraly (= 3 + 4). In terms of melodic rhythm, the change is made from $|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} |$ to $|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} ||$ and $|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} ||$, respectively. There are 14 such variations in I-A (that is, in the initial segment, 4 + 4, of the first line of the *kolomyjka*) as found in the Appendix (nos. 3, 6, 7, 17, 18, 20, 23, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 44, 48). In II-A (that is, in the initial segment in the second line of the *kolomyjka*) there were 8 variations (nos. 9, 30, 32, 38, 39, 42, 45, and 47).

Hence, the first column of our table warrants adjusting, as follows:

	<u>A</u>
I	6 divergencies
II	3 divergencies

Before entering into a discussion of the above divergencies, it would be interesting to note, what changes were made (if any) in the tensions between the grammatical or word stress and the metric stress as a result of the change in delivery, as far as the two variations, (4 + 3) and (3 + 4), in I-A and II-A are concerned. In those segments where the word stress coincided with the metric stress in the $|4 + 3|$ variant, there was no difficulty in adapting the *kolomyjka* to chant: e.g., no. 20,

$|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} |$
A na farmi | kuročky # |;

similarly, I-A in nos. 17, 18, 44, and 48. In all these examples, all three features - word stress, metric stress, and melodic rhythm - coincide and form a congruent whole structure.

In initial and final positions, metric stress was retained at the expense of the word stress:

no. 47, Najily sy barabol' (instead of |najily|)

no. 3, Oj mij tato buv zlodij (instead of |zlodij|).

In contrast to no. 3, in both nos. 9 and 38 a deliberate effort in actual performance is made against retaining the metric stress by a shift in values in the melody line in order to preserve the word stress in ruky:

no. 3, I-A:

$|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} |$ = $|\underline{x} \ x \ \underline{x} \ x | \underline{x} \ \overset{!}{x} \ \underline{x} \ # |$
 Oj mij tato buv zlodij (= 7 syllables: 4 + 3)

nos. 9 and 38, II-A:

$|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} |$ = $|\underline{x} \ x \ \underline{x} \ x | \underline{x} \ # \ \overset{!}{x} \ x |$
Tretyj voz'mu ja v ruky (= 7 syllables: 4 + 3)

Of course, the tension between metric and grammatical stresses in nos. 9 and 38, above, could have been easily avoided (e.g., A ja tretyj voz'mu v ruky). However, it is evident that, in nos. 9 and 38, any such solution would have disrupted the parallelism of numerals in initial position in each of the first three segments:⁹

Jeden harbuz zalataju, | druhyj ja zašyju,
Tretyj voz'mu ja v ruky, | tarax babu v šyju.

In cases where one and the same word or phrase were immediately repeated, any tension between grammatical and metric stresses which was present in the *sung kolomyjka*, was resolved in favor of the metric stress of the first word or phrase as it was chanted:

	sung	chanted
no. 6	<u>Oj</u> bu <u>va</u> lo bu <u>va</u> lo	<u>Oj</u> bu <u>va</u> lo, bu <u>va</u> lo
no. 33	<u>Oj</u> na ho <u>ri</u> na ho <u>ri</u>	<u>Oj</u> na ho <u>ri</u> , na ho <u>ri</u> .

To return to our discussion of divergencies in the A-segment of the *kolomyjka*-line, (4 + 4), we have eliminated those variants of the 8-syllable pattern that remained within the tradition of the *kolomyjka* (that is, the reduction to 7 syllables). Not within the traditional framework of the *kolomyjka* is the change from 8 syllables to 3, 6, and 9 syllables. (Segment A took on 9 syllables in I-A of nos. 1, 27, 35, 47; 9 syllables in II-A of nos. 4, 31, 41; 6 syllables in I-A, no. 41; 3 syllables in I-A of no. 27.) The extension from 8 to 9 syllables is illustrated by the following excerpts:

in I-A, no. 1	Oj zahrav muzyčen'ko, zahraj
no. 27	Ja pryjixav do Vinnipegu
no. 35	Oj kazaly mje kury pasty
no. 47	Čomu divčata ne spivajut'
in II-A, no. 4	Zašyvaly tomu xlopcevy
no. 31	Zibravem ditočky v torbyнку
no. 41	Štyry razy operezavsja.

In all these examples, our main point is that the 8-syllable frame *was* extended. In no. 1, the addition of zahraj was likely a belated attempt on the part of the performer to correct himself, especially since the parallel A-segment in the second line of the same *kolomyjka* began with a future perfective tense, dam, rather than a past tense, dav:

Oj zahrav muzyčen'ko, zahraj....¹⁰
Dam ja tobi solonynu....

In no. 27, a possible shorter form for Vinnipeg was disregarded.¹¹ In no. 35, the 8-syllables could have been retained had the performer omitted either the initial interjection, oj, or the indirect pronoun, mje; on the other hand, the omission of oj would have caused a shift of the initial stress onto the first syllable of kazaly which follows, thereby creating tension between the grammatical stress and the metric stress: kazaly. The interpolation of mje in no. 35 was possibly suggested to the performer by the preceding *kolomyjka*-verse (no. 34), with its combination of interjection + verb + pronoun in the identical I-A slot: Oj išov ja... Similarly, in no. 4, the use of the demonstrative, tomu, is in direct reference to the speaker in the preceding *kolomyjka* who boasts of his having escaped the fate of his father; in no. 4, the same speaker literally 'gets it in the end:' Zašyvaly tomu xlopcevy cymbaly do sercja. In no. 47, a more courteous form, divčata, is used rather than the shorter

but slangy possibility, divky, in deference to the females present at the "Služba Boža." The extension to 9 syllables in no. 31 could have easily been avoided as it was in no. 32: Vzjavem dity instead of no. 31, Zibravem ditočky. In no. 41, the verb, operezavsja could have been substituted by the shorter, dialectical form, operzavsja.

In contrast to the above extensions are the two contractions to 6 and 3 syllables in I-A of nos. 41 and 28, respectively. In both cases, the initial segment serves to announce a kind of riddle:

no. 41 Oj koby ja mav to, | ščo Kaptij maje
no. 28 Staryj xtiv | a stara ne xtila.

The demonstrative, to, in no. 41 refers to the male member (cf. no. 45, II-A, Kazala ščoby buv toj) and has almost an electrifying effect, mainly because of its position in the crucial foot just before the break. Less forceful would have been the possible utilization of take, which could have served to fill out the segment to 4 + 3 syllables without causing any tension between word and metric stresses. The to almost retracts or backfires, so to speak, against the entire segment by taking on the metric stress although it does not have the 'right' to do so.

In no. 28, the riddle springs from a zero notion; that is, we are told that "the old man wanted but the old lady didn't." However, what it is that the old man wanted and the old lady didn't want is not revealed--either in the first line, quoted above, nor in the second line of the same *kolomyjka*-verse: Staryj staru makohonom, až stara prysila. The final "prysila" is highly ambiguous; evidently the old lady submitted to the wish of her husband; but did she "settle down" or simply "sit down"? Regardless, the focus of attention remains on the verb "to want" as it appears in the first line: xtiv, xtila.

The above two examples of reduction in the number of syllables, then, constitute the formal aspect of a device which heightens the effect of the *kolomyjka*. In a similar manner, extension too can serve as a forceful device as, for example, segment II-A in no. 41: Štyry razy operezavsja, which stands in parallel position to the I-A segment (Oj koby ja mav to) discussed earlier:

Oj koby ja mav to = 6 syllables
Štyry razy operezavsja = 9 syllables.

A reconstructed version of the same two lines, keeping within the traditional 4 + 3 and/or 4 + 4 syllabic frame of the *kolomyjka* would be:

Oj koby ja mav take 7 syllables (4 + 3)
Štyry razy operzavsja = 8 syllables (4 + 4).

The verb operezavsja, in the actual version, serves a double function: by using the full, literary form, the performer has, in effect, compensated for the loss of one syllable in the parallel A-segment in the preceding line; at the same time the hyperbolic effect of the verb is further exaggerated by simply prolonging it.

The B-segment of the *kolomyjka*, regularly composed of 6 syllables, |x x x x x x|, appears as follows in melodic rhythm:

$|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} ||$.

In order to accomodate extra syllables in the final bar, the half-notes can be divided into quarter-notes:

(a) $|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{2} ||$

no. 16, I-B: |bu-ly so-bi | ry-ba-ký¹|| = 7
syllables

(b) $|\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} | \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} ||$

no. 11, I-B: |ho-lod ty-sne | ne-ma rá¹-dy|| = 8
syllables

The extension from 6 to 7 syllables, shown in example (a), above, remains within the framework of the traditional *kolomyjka* since the word and metric stresses coincide. The following 7-syllable divergencies, however, fail to reflect such a coincidence:

no. 23, I-B: šo ja tebe ne xoču¹

no. 37, I-B: taj začaly kryčaty¹.

In nos. 1 and 50, II-B, šmaruvaty holovu, serves as a fine example of frustrated expectation:

no. 50: Oj zahraj my muzyčen'ku na vsi štyry pal'ci
(O play for me, musician, with all four fingers,)

Dam ja tobi solonynu šmaruvaty holovu.
(I'll give you some pig's fat to grease up your head.)

Instead of jajci (testicles), holovu is used to frustrate the expectant rhyme with pal'ci, at the same time creating a tension between the parallel B-segment of the first line, na vsi štyry pal'ci, composed of 6 syllables, and the B-segment of the second line, šmaruvaty holovu (7 syllables).

Similar tension between parallel segments is established in no. 40 without, however, the intention of creating frustrated expectation:

Išov hucul z Kolomyji, a huculka z bani, (4 + 4 + 6)

Posidaly pid smerekom taj zrobyly snidani. (4 + 4 + 7)

"To sit down under a fir-tree and make breakfast" is the erotic but circuitous reference to coition. The II-B segment, taj zrobyly snidani, preserves its rhyme with bani in the preceding line but clashes with its 6-syllable structure. The tension could have been avoided by reducing taj zrobyly ("and made") to a straight infinitive, zrobyty. But this would have disrupted a string of parallelisms: hucul z Kolomyji and huculka z bani, posidaly and zrobyly. Although this horizontal parallelism is retained, vertical tension between bani and snidani remains as a result of the /a/ bearing the metric stress in the first instance, as opposed to its absence in the second. The suppression of the *kolomyjka*'s traditional vertical parallelism (as exemplified by e.g. a below) in favor of a horizontal parallelism can be illustrated by the macaronic verse of e.g. b, below:

4 + 4 + 6

(a) no. 10: V Vinnipegu | zavždy mylo, | a v Torontu trисло,
V Vinnipegu | nema divok, | no same kalistvo.

(b) no. 44:

4 + 3 4 + 3

Včora večer | bula "dronk," | taj zrobyla | "somtink ronk,"
 Nyni xodžu | taj pytaju, | komus' dala | taj ne znaju.

Most significant is the relationship established in the "Služba Boža" between stara ("old lady") and baraboli ("pota-toes"); for not only do they signal a marital squabble, but also an extension of the B-segment from 6 to 8 syllables. Three out of four such extensions in the Appendix point to this relationship which is established as a formula:

I-B, nos. 13 and 43: stara vare baraboli

I-B, no. 42: stara struže baraboli

In each case, the B-segment is preceded by the formula pryjšov staryj do staroji, constituting horizontal parallelism of an identical number of syllables in both segments arranged in symmetrical cola of 4 syllables, and with baraboli rhymed with staroji (e.g. no. 13: Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara vare baraboli). The second line is also constructed horizontally, paralleling the first line:

no. 13: Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara vare baraboli,
Baraboli ne do smaku, staryj bere za "taramda."

no. 42: Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara struže baraboli,
Staryj kaže "vat ju du," stara kaže "aj love ju."

no. 43: Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara vare baraboli,
Baraboli ne do smaku, staryj kopaje staru v sraku.

In no. 13, above, taramda is the informant's substitute for tabaku which would have constituted a rhyme with smaku at the end of the preceding hemistich.¹² In no. 43, the final hemistich ending in sraku completes the highly offensive paronomastic string of alliteration: smaku, staryj... staru v sraku.

"The sexual material which forms the content of smut includes... what is excremental in the most comprehensive sense."¹³ This particular element appears in our materials a total of seven times. Except for no. 48, it appears at the very end of the second line of the *kolomyjka*-stanza, usually under the guise of frustrated expectation: in nos. 4 and 14, raky is made to rhyme with serce and sercja; in nos. 5 and 27, ybravsja and nadohljadavsja are left floating in mid air, as it were, and the audience is compelled to supply a suitable rhyme for both forms (srvavsja). As the "Služba Boža" progresses, however, it is evident that inhibitions concerning the use of socially taboo words begin to disappear. In no. 43 a concerted effort is made to utilize sraku rather than the possible formula with tabaku (staryj bere za tabaku); and in no. 48, sraty for the first and only time appears in the first hemistich of the second line, where its very position is premature and unexpected. The rhyme

of kašu with času becomes an unexpected deviation and provides a strong anti-climax:

- no. 48: My ne jily barabol', til'ky jily kašu,
Try dny sraty ne xodyly bo ne maly času.

In no. 46, the entire II-B segment is made to continue indefinitely by the addition of dvajdcát', which in turn causes the collapse so to speak of the entire *kolomyjka* by the very act of prolonging it:

- no. 46: Oj ja tobi zaspivaju pjatnajdcát', šist'najdcát',
Vid šist'najdcát' do simnajdcát', visimnajdcát',
devjatnajdcát', dvajdcát'...

The very intention of this 'trick-song' is to diverge from the framework of the *kolomyjka*'s syllabic framework (4 + 4 + 6) by ignoring the mandatory ending called for at the end of a maximum of 8 syllables in B-segment.

In contrast to this intentional divergency in no. 46, the addition of an extra formula in no. 5 is prompted by the adoption of a liturgical style of delivery for the given *kolomyjka*-stanza:

- no. 5: Oj pryjšov ja do divčyny, v bili štany vbravsja taj
sy rozčysav,

Other B-segment divergencies are illustrated by the following excerpts:

- no. 41: Oj koby ja mav to, ščo Kaptij maje, (6 + 5)
Štyry razy operezavsja, šče v ruci trymaje. (9 + 6);
- no. 43: Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara struže baraboli,
(8 + 8)
Baraboli ne do smaku, staryj kopaje stary v sraku.
(8 + 9).

The divergence in no. 41, I-B, ščo Kaptij maje, could have easily been resolved by the interpolation of naš: ščo naš Kaptij maje (= 6 syllables). In no. 43, the extension from the maximum of 8 syllables to 9 in II-B, staryj kopaje staru v sraku, could have been avoided by returning to the past tense used in I-A (pryjšov) and using the same perfective, past tense for kopaty (kopnuv) instead of the present form (kopaje). The use of the present points to a retention of the two, preceding present tense forms (struže in I-B and the zero-copula in II-A).

On the basis of the above discussion, it is necessary to readjust the original table of divergencies for B-segments which now stands as follows:

B	
I	3 divergencies
II	2 divergencies

The complete table indicating *significant* breaks with the traditional, 12 and 14-syllable line of the *kolomyjka* is as follows:

	<u>A</u> (4 + 4)		<u>B</u> 6 (or 8)		<u>"C"</u>
Line <u>I</u>	6 divergencies	+	3 divergencies	=	9 + 1
Line <u>II</u>	<u>3</u> divergencies	+	<u>2</u> divergencies	=	<u>5</u>
Total	9 divergencies	+	5 divergencies	=	14 + 1

The verse-numbers in which the above divergencies occur are as follows:

- I-A: nos. 1, 27, 28, 34, 41, 47
 I-B: nos. 23, 37, 41
 I-C: no. 5
 II-A: nos. 4, 31, 41
 II-B: nos. 40, 43.

5. Conclusions

The purpose of this report was to detect the possible vulnerability of the 14-syllable line of the *kolomyjka* using the materials in the Appendix as the basis for discussion. Special attention was made to those examples in which the deviation from the normal number of syllables constituted a poetic device.

The scale of divergencies for the *kolomyjka* and its four segments indicates a graduated diminution of divergencies:

segment:	I-A	I-B	II-A	II-B
no. of divergencies:	6	3	3	2

Before us, then, stands a vivid illustration of Boris Sokolov's reference to "the progressive contraction of images" (постепенное сужение образов)¹⁴ which is presented here in the more concrete terms of significant deviations from the *kolomyjka*'s 14-syllable line. As a poetic device, this graduated diminution indicates that the focus of attention in the Ukrainian *kolomyjka* lies essentially in the final, most stable segment, II-B, which serves as the climactic culmination, the 'punch-line,' into which is channelled all of the "joke-work" - as Freud put it, - of the preceding segments.

Notes

1. Dobryj Pastyr: Ukraïns'kyj Pravoslavnyj Molytovnyk, Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Cerkva v Kanadi, 1952, p. 121.
2. See, for example, I pip i ks'ondz, i rabyn; ukraïns'ki narodni ateïstyčni pisni ta prykasny, Kyjiv, Deržavne vydavnytvo xudožn'oji literatury, 1957; also M.S. Rodina i F.D. Tkačenko, compilers, Narod pro relihiju: zbirnyk fol'klornyx tvoriv, Kyjiv, AN URSSR, 1958.
3. Roman Jakobson, "Medieval Mock Mystery (The Old Czech Un-guentarius)," Studia Philologica et Litteraria in Honorem L. Spitzer, Bern, 1958, pp. 247, 257.

4. Numerals refer to the segments in the parody as reproduced in the Appendix at the end of this paper.
5. Fylaret Kolessa, "Ukrajins'ka narodnja pisnja v najnovišij fazi svojoho rozvytku," Zbirnyk Istoryčno-fil. viddilu, No. 76 (Kn. 2), 1918, VUAN, pp. 72-73.
6. Alfred J. Swan, "Russian Chant," New Oxford History of Music, II, pp. 52-57.
7. See, for example, D.M. Moldavskij's commentary, "Сатирические частушки," Народно-поэтическая сатира, Ленинград, Советский писатель, 1960, pp.337-351. The author emphasizes that the melody alone is capable of being the vehicle for satire, while the element of irony may be completely absent from the text.
8. The figures in the table are based on the 48 *kolomyjky* which appear as part of the "Služba Boža" reproduced in the Appendix. Nos. 25, 26, 29, and 49 are excluded. Note, also, that the item after no. 10 is numbered 10-A.
9. Cf: Oden grejcar na tjitjun, | a druhyj na ljul'ku, | A tretyj šče ustaraju, | kupju sobi ljubku.||
From Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Kolomyjky," II, Etnografičnyj zbirnyk, 1906, p. 109.
10. See, also, no. 50: Oj zahraj my muzyčen'ku.
11. Jaroslav Rudnyc'kyj, "Narodni etymolohiji kanadijs'kyx nazv," Materijaly do ukrajins'ko-kanadijs'koji fol'klorystyky i dijalektolohiji, I, Vinnipeg, UVAN, 1956, p. 8.
12. It is interesting to note here that in some sources tabaka (= "tobacco") serves as the symbol for the male genitalia (as in Hnatjuk, below) while in others it represents the female genitalia (Kolessa, below):

Oj staryj ty, staryj ty,
 Oj szo tobi zvaryty,
 Baraboli, staraja,
 Szob tabaka stojala.

(Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Die Brautkammer. Eine Episode aus dem ukrainischen Hochzeitbräuchen," Anthropophyteia, VI, 1909, p. 129.)

Oj ču-ky-ču-ky-ču-ky,
 A djivčata suky, suky,
 A xlopčji sobaky,
 Prosjat u djivčat tabaky.

(Filjaret Kolessa, "Pro muzyčnu formu ukrajins'kyx narodnyx pisen'z Podilja, Xolmščyny i Pidljasja," Materijaly do ukrajins'koji etnol'ogiji, XVI, 1916, p. 54.)
13. Sigmund Freud, Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960, p. 97.

14. Борис Соколов, "Экскурсы в область поэтики русского фольклора," Художественный фольклор, I, 1926, p. 39.

APPENDIX: "Služba Boža"

Chorus: Amin'.

1. Oj zahrav muzyčen'ko, zahraj [sic], na vsi štyry pal'ci, Dam ja tobi solonynu smaruvaty holovu.

Chorus: Tak bulo, tak bulo, tak bulo.

2. Oj pišov ja do divčyny, divčyna sy duje, JA šapčynu pid pašynu, xaj tje mat' morduje.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

3. Oj mij tato buv zlodij, ta ja v n'oho vdavsja, Moho tata povišyly, a ja vidervavsja.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

4. Kotylasja z horba torba, a v tij torbi raky, Zašyvaly tomu xlopcevy cymbaly do sercja.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

5. Oj pryjšov ja do divčyny, v bili štany vbravsja, taj sy rozčysav, Pryxožu ja do divčyny, na porozi...

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

6. Oj buvalo, buvalo, jak ja buv rekrutom, Štany my sja poporoly, zalatavym prutom.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

7. Oj buvalo, buvalo, jak ja buv firerom, Štany my sja poporoly, zalatav paperom.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

8. Oj vtikav ja poza xaty taj poza horody, Zašportavsja v harbuzyni taj narobyv škody.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

9. JEden harbuz zalataju, druhyj ja zašyju, Tretyj voz'mu ja v ruky, tarax v babu v šyju.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

10. V Vinnipegu zavždy mylo, a v Toronti trislo. V Vinnipegu nema divok, no same kalistvo.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

10-A. V Vinnipegu nema vody, bo vypyly husy,
V Vinnipegu nema "bojsiv," no sami "magusy."

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

11. Oj pryjixav do Kanady, holod tysne, nema rady,
Šej roboty ja ne maju, po "pulrumax guđ tajm maju."

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

12. Oj kazala pryxodyty moloda Pavlina,
A kazala ščoby bula v Fordi "gazolina."

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

13. Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara vare baraboli,
Baraboli ne do smaku, staryj bere za "taramda."

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

14. Kotylasja torba z horba a v tij torbi raky,
Xto ž mene moloden'ku pryhorne do sercja?

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

15. Oj diznavsja, prylyzavsja, v bili štany vbravsja,
Oj pryjšov vin do divčyny na porozi sisty.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

16. Oj tvij tato i mij tato buly sobi rybaky,
Posidaly na porozi taj revily jak byky.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

17. JAk ja bula moloda, to ja bula ščyra,
JA davala pocilunok za kavalok syra.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

18. JAk ja bula moloda, to ja bula krasna,
JA davala pocilunok za kavalok masla.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

19. Oj vedut' mja, oj vedut' mja, do šljubu vedut' mja,
Moja duša vidčuvaje ljubyty budut' mja.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

20. A na farmi kuročky, sami čubaten'ki,
V Vinnipegu divčaton'ka sami horbaten'ki.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

21. Oj prybihly divok sorok a molodyc' trysta,
Maju v Bozi nadijetku, moja duša čysta.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

22. Ljubko moja soloden'ka, ljubko moja pyšnja,
Verxnja huba jak pidošva, a spidnja jak pryšva.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

23. Vybačaj, divčynon'ko, šo ja tebe ne xoču,
JA takymy divčatamy konopli voloču.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

24. Oj deb-deb-deb, deb-deb-deb-deb, čym sy honoruješ?
Tvoja mama pupci riže j ty sy tym huđuješ.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

25. JIxala Xyma z JErusalyma,
Ta na starij taradajci,
Zi staroju kobyľjakoju...

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

26. Taradajka skryxočyt'
A kobyła laje...

Chorus: Obskubav kobyľu (3).

27. JA pryjixav do Vinnipegu taj nadohljadavsja,
JAnyjs' did'ko hroši vkrav, a v kyšenju...

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

28. Staryj xtiv, a stara ne xtila,
Staryj staru makohonom, až stara prysila.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

29. Toj meni vynen,
Toj meni vynen,
Viddaty meni povynen,
A jak vynen... [laughter]

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

30. Nedavno sy oženyv, bude rik na spasa,
Vzjavem sy taku žinku jak smyčok vid basa.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

31. Nedavno sy oženyv, bude rik na vesni,
Zibravem ditočky v torbyнку, ponis na čerešni.

Chorus: Dva z polovynoju (3).

32. Nedavno sy oženyv, bude rik na Petra,
Vzjavem dity v torbyнку, ponis ja do pekla.

Chorus: Dva z polovynoju (3).

33. Oj na hori, na hori, pasly sy jendyky,
Stara baba z jednym zubom plače na muzyky.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

34. Oj išov ja Mejn "stritom," šov ja kolo Luča,
A u Luča tak ljubljut'sja až stiny trjasjut'sja.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

35. Oj kazaly mje kury pasty, horox molotyty,
Kury jajci pohubyly, mene xtyly byty.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

36. Oj vtikav ja poza xatu taj poza horody,
Zapl'ontavsja v harbuzynja, taj narobyv škody.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

37. Oj nabihly baby z xaty taj začaly kryčaty,
A ja musiv štany derty harbuzy lataly.

Chorus: Ty brešyš (3).

38. JEden harbuz zalataju, druhyj ja zašyju,
Tretyj voz'mu ja v ruky, tarax babu v šyju.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

39. Oj ja hucul i ty hucul, oba my huculy,
Nas obox obikraly, a my nic ne čuly.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

40. Išov hucul z Kolomyji a huculka z bani,
Posidaly pid smerekom tak zrobyly snidani.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

41. Oj koby ja mav to, ščo Kaptij maje,
Štyry razy operezavsja, šče v ruci trymaje.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

42. Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara struže baraboli,
Staryj kaže, "vat ju du," stara kaže, "aj lov ju."

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

43. Pryjšov staryj do staroji, stara vare baraboli,
Baraboli ne do smaku, staryj kopaje staru v sraku.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

44. Včora večer bula "dronk," tak zrobyla "somtink ronk,"
Nyni xodžu taj pytaju, komus' dala taj ne znaju.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

45. Oj kazala j pryxodyty moloda Pavlina,
Kazala ščoby buv toj po sami kolina.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

46. Oj ja tobi zaspivaju pjatnajdcat', šist'najdcat',
vid šist'najdcat' do simnajdcat', visimnajdcat',
devjatnajdcat', dvajdcat'...

Chorus: Dva z polovynoju (3).

47. Čomu divčata ne spivajut', holosu ne majut'?
Najily sy barabol', ledvy vidyxxajut'.

Chorus: To pravda (3) [sung by males]
Ne pravda (3) [sung by females].

48. My ne jily barabol', til'ky jily kašu,
Try dny sraty ne xodyly, bo ne maly času.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

49. V Gimli perohy,
V Gimli perohy,
V Gimli holobci;
Xto jix narobyv,
Xto jix narobyv? -
Najharniši divčatočka.

Chorus: Dva z polovynoju (3).

50. Oj zahraj my muzyčen'ku na vsi štyry pal'ci,
Dam ja tobi solonyny šmaruvaty holovu.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

51. Oj sydila na porozi, terebyla raky,
Zašyvala spidnyčynu do samoji spyny.

Chorus: Tak bulo (3).

ALBANIAN ORAL EPIC POETRY

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In 1934 Professor Milman Parry of Harvard University conducted an interesting interview with a bilingual singer in Novi Pazar, Yugoslavia. Parry was interested in the possibility of tracing the passing of formulas and themes from one oral tradition to another. His field experiment nearly ended in complete failure due to the line of questioning adopted by his Serbian interpreter. His interpreter asked the singer, Salih Ugljanin, to demonstrate for Parry how Albanians sing; Ugljanin, as the recordings in the Parry Collection show, proceeded to make a contrast between Bosnian (decasyllabic) and Albanian (octosyllabic) lines. The singer had difficulty in explaining how it was impossible for him to "translate" a song into Albanian, because Albanian was "shorter." Nevertheless, Ugljanin did compose octosyllabic lines in his mother tongue, and rather successfully translated the songs into octosyllabic Serbo-Croatian verse. At a point where the interview was beginning to irritate the singer (the idea of translating from decasyllables to octosyllables was new for him), Parry interrupted with a key question. Parry asked Ugljanin if he could sing one of the "old" songs in Albanian as well as Bosnian (i.e. Serbo-Croatian) decasyllables. As the records demonstrate, Ugljanin indeed was able to sing in two languages with equal ease of composition.

In this interview, Parry merely confirmed what Murko had already discovered about Albanian singing in decasyllables; namely, that the two traditions (Albanian and Serbo-Croatian) were identical, at least to the ear.¹ One problem remained, however: the scarcity of reliable texts with examples of Albanian decasyllabic verse. This problem was partially solved just four years after Parry's field trip. Parry's assistant, now professor of Slavic and Comparative Literatures at Harvard, Albert B. Lord, made a brief (two month) trip into the mountains of Northern Albania and successfully recorded unusually long heroic epic songs. The songs--several with over one thousand lines, and one, a song of Sirotin Ali, with over two thousand lines--can in no way be compared to the Albanian ballads popularized in the song books and collections. Furthermore, they do not correspond to neighboring Montenegrin ballads which, for the most part, tell of local heroes and of border skirmishes between Montenegrin and Albanian clans. What Professor Lord recorded was, in fact, a sampling of a rich tradition of Albanian epic poetry in the longer verse dealing with the "old" songs, songs which are also found in the repertoires of Moslem singers in Yugoslavia. In effect, the Lord Collection, which I am presently editing and translating, forces one to re-evaluate the whole problem of the relationship between Serbo-Croatian and Albanian oral epic traditions.

The problem is that scholars have not dealt enough with Albanian epic songs in decasyllables, regarding them as poor imitations of Serbo-Croatian *deseterci*. This attitude is best seen in Alois Schmaus' analysis of Albanian and Serbo-Croatian songs of the battle of Kosovo.² The Albanian variants, he contends, are inferior imitations of Moslem Slav songs, which, in turn, fall far below the quality of Serbian Christian songs about Kosovo. In his studies, he used a song by Salih Ugljanin to prove his point. Unfortunately, he compared a song by Ugljanin in Serbo-Croatian with an Albanian variant recorded by Elezović in

the Kosmet. The Albanian variant is one of the longest songs appearing in Albanian collections (approximately 425 lines); but it is one of the poorest as far as style is concerned. This, of course, is the fault of the singer, and not the tradition. Had Schmaus, and Parry for that matter, asked Ugljanin to repeat his song about Kosovo in Albanian, the singer no doubt would have had little difficulty in doing so. The Lord Collection contains a shorter, but far superior song about Millosh and Murat. When I compared this song to that of Ugljanin in the Parry Collection, one fact became clear: the Moslem Slav songs of Kosovo (including those sung in Serbo-Croatian by Albanians) are indeed longer than their Albanian counterparts but for reasons that have nothing to do with oral poetry. The Yugoslav singers simply threw together the Kosovo fragments popularized in the Christian song books, thus adding episodes that Albanian Moslems ignored. It is curious to note, however, that the fragments collected by Vuk Karadžić did not include the episode of the assassination of the emperor Murat by Miloš Obilić. It is precisely this episode, which Schmaus called the "primitive" song of Kosovo, that, in my opinion, suggests Albanian influence on Moslem Slav poetry, something that Schmaus categorically rejected in his comparison of Kosovo variants.

If Albanian songs influenced Moslem Slav singers, could this have been through bilingual singers such as Ugljanin himself? Once again, the texts in the Lord Collection provided enough material for me to conclude that such is precisely the case. One song by Ugljanin which has been analyzed both in Professor Lord's Singer of Tales and in his two volumes of Serbo-Croatian heroic songs contains the Amazon theme, or the theme of the Maiden Warrior. In the song, "The Song of Bagdad," the Moslem hero Đerzelez Alija is pictured as a rather comical coward, and certainly not as the hero who terrified Kraljević Marko by out-distancing him in a mace-throwing contest. Bagdad was conquered not by Đerzelez, but by his true-love, the disguised Fatima. This particular variant of the songs about Bagdad appeared in the repertory of other bilingual Albanians who had learned the song from Ugljanin. The variant, therefore, was well known to audiences in the Sandžak, especially where Albanians constituted a majority of the population. The song about Đerzelez Alija, or, more precisely, about Fatima, was less common in non-Albanian areas in Western Yugoslavia, where the majority of the population was Moslem. Could Ugljanin have learned the song from Albanian singers?

The Lord Collection contained no songs about Đerzelez Alija. It did, however, include four different songs with the Maiden Warrior theme; and in all four songs, the hero was none other than Ali Bajraktari, or Ali the Standard-Bearer. In none of the songs was Bagdad mentioned; but in all of the songs, Ali's true-love (never with the name Fatima) rescued the hero from an embarrassing situation. The maiden warrior, referred to only as Begije Devojka, or the daughter of the beg, revealed her identity only when Ali had reluctantly entered the bridal chamber, sorrowing over the absence of his "brother-in-God" who had joined him on the emperor's expedition. Ali became only a "little red" when he found out that his blood-brother was actually his true-love. In one variant, Ali's position seemed even more shameful when he had told Begije Devojka that his blood-brother had promised Ali that he would be at the wedding to help celebrate his (Ali's)

capture of the English Queen.³ It was at once apparent to me that Ali's "capture" of the English Queen in the Albanian variant, and Fatima's capture of the Queen of Bagdad⁴ were one and the same song. Thus the Lord Collection has four different songs about Đerzelez Alija and the Maiden Warrior theme. Moslem (and Catholic) songs about Ali Bajraktari in Albanian indeed had, through singers such as Ugljanin, passed into Serbo-Croatian heroic epic poetry, helping to create the comic-epic figure of Đerzelez Alija, a character vividly portrayed by Ivo Andrić in his "Put Đerzelez Alije."

When the songs in the Lord Collection are edited and translated, it will be evident that a new side of Serbo-Croatian oral epic poetry will demand closer attention: namely, its non-Slavic side. In the process, the study of Serbo-Croatian epic poetry should once and for all lose its romantic, nationalistic framework. Murko had noted that singing in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian seemed to be identical. (The formulas, in fact, are not the same. Ugljanin knew both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian formulaic patterns.⁵) A closer examination of songs in Albanian decasyllables will, in my opinion, prove that Albanian and Serbo-Croatian oral epic poetry represents a single tradition of singing in decasyllables (I have in mind only the four-six line, due to the material I have used in my formulaic and thematic analyses) common to two distinct language groups in the Balkans.

Notes

1. Matija Murko, Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike, I (Zagreb, 1951), p. 94. After listening to Ugljanin sing in his mother tongue, Murko agreed with Prof. Wollman's assertion that his singing in Albanian in no way differed from his singing in Serbo-Croatian, and that he accompanied himself on the gusle (lahuta) in exactly the same manner.
2. A. Schmaus, "Kosovo u narodnoj pesmi muslimana," Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije, V (March, 1938), pp. 101-121. Schmaus' arguments are supported by Stavro Skendi in chapter IV of his book, Albanian and South Slavic Oral Epic Poetry, American Folklore Society (Philadelphia, 1954).
3. This is ms. 57, "Kangen e Ali Bajraktarit me Krajlicen e Inglizit" ("The Song of Ali Bajraktari With the English Queen"), in Albert B. Lord's "Heroic Ballads and Folksongs of Albania" (unpublished collection in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge). It is curious to note that the singer, Ali Meta, had sung his song about the Kosovo battle to Ćor Huso, one of the singers Ugljanin claimed had taught him the Kosovo song which both Schmaus and Parry collected.
4. This is No. 1 in Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs, edited and translated by Albert B. Lord, The Harvard University Press and the Serbian Academy of Sciences (Cambridge and Belgrade, 1954).
5. John Kolsti, "The Bilingual Singer: A Study in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian Oral Epic Poetry" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1967), chapter II.

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By phonological restructuring I mean the following. Suppose that in the course of history a rule is added to the phonology of a language. The phonology is assumed to be maximally general before the addition of the rule. But the addition of the rule may change the phonetic output of the grammar in such a way that the old grammar together with the new rule may not embody the correct generalizations to account for the new phonetic output. In fact, the grammar with the correct generalizations may be radically different from the old set of rules with the innovation added.¹ Presumably the next generation of speakers learns the new maximally general grammar.

Kiparsky² points to Grimm's Law as a paradigm case of restructuring. He argues that by the time all of the changes of Grimm's Law had taken place, the phonology of Germanic would contain not the actual changes, but rules that had the opposite effect of the historical processes. I believe that Kiparsky's comments are essentially correct. But the situation is considerably more complicated than he portrays it in his brief treatment of the topic. As we shall see below, different versions of the theory of generative phonology make different claims as to what restructuring really did take place.

Before proceeding, we should discuss some points of theory that will enter into the discussion. (1) Kiparsky³ assumes that there exist rules that change two segments at once. It is usually assumed that such rules are impossible, except for metathesis, rules that coalesce two vowels to form one, and a small number of others. But Kiparsky's example is a plausible one, as are a number of examples that we will consider below. One of the arguments that is sometimes brought forth against such rules is that the same changes can be effected by two successive rules which change only one segment at a time. But, as we will see below, there are apparent generalizations that cannot be captured this way. Consequently, a theory with such rules will make different claims about restructuring than a theory without such rules. (2) Chomsky and Halle have recently revived and renovated the Prague School notion of markedness. Though no one has yet come near to incorporating an adequate notion of markedness into the theory of generative phonology, certain things are clear. The following facts will have to be incorporated into any set of universal markedness rules: (i) Obstruents unmarked for voicing are voiceless; obstruents marked for voicing are voiced. (ii) Obstruents unmarked for aspiration are unaspirated; obstruents marked for aspiration are aspirated. I also assume, following Jakobson, that there cannot be a marked series of sounds without the corresponding unmarked series. This assumption has interesting consequences if one considers the system of stops in Indo-European. According to the usual reconstruction, the phonetic values of the stops were p-b-b^h. (We will assume the labials to represent the entire series.) The aspirates were distinguished from the non-aspirates by the single mark of aspiration. According to the above principle, the aspirates would be unmarked for voicing since there is no voice-voiceless contrast in the aspirate series. If we accept both this markedness principle and the phonetic values as they are usually reconstructed, we get the fol-

lowing situation with respect to markedness and feature values.

	p	b	b ^h	p	b	b ^h	
VOICING	u	m	u	-	+	+	(iii)
ASPIRATION	u	u	m	-	-	+	

But here we notice a discrepancy between the reconstructed phonetic values and the phonetic values given by markedness rule (i). If the aspirates are unmarked for voicing and if obstruents unmarked for voicing are voiceless, then the aspirates should be voiceless instead of voiced. It is for this reason that Jakobson has questioned the traditional reconstruction.⁴ Within the framework of generative phonology, it may be possible to maintain both, though not without some cost. If one interprets markedness rules such as (i) and (ii) as supplying systematic phonemic feature-values rather than phonetic or taxonomic phonemic ones, then one might maintain that the aspirates are voiceless at the systematic phonemic level, but voiced at the phonetic level. The discrepancy would be accounted for by the following rule.

[+ASP]
 (iv') ↓
 [+VOICE]

The trouble with (iv') is that there is no independent motivation for it. It does not account for any phonological alternation, nor does it allow one to capture any phonological generalization that would otherwise be missed. In short, there is no empirical basis for (iv'); it is set up simply to avoid the above conflict. There is another possible alternative, though it is no more savory than (iv'). One could postulate the existence of markedness change rules such as (iv).

[mASP]
 (iv) ↓
 [mVOICE]

Such a language-particular markedness rule would apply before the application of the universal markedness interpretation rules, (i) and (ii). The effect would be the same as with (iv'). And as with (iv'), there is no empirical basis for (iv). Moreover, one must consider the question of whether language-particular markedness rules exist. There is no independent reason to believe that rules of form of (iv) exist, although we will give some evidence below that suggests that language-particular markedness rules of a somewhat different form exist.

Since I believe that Jakobson's markedness postulate is correct, and since I have no reason, aside from that belief, to question the traditional reconstruction, I will assume that either (iv) or (iv') was a rule of Indo-European. Any reader who wishes to disagree with this assumption must either give up Jakobson's markedness postulate or challenge the traditional reconstruction. In what follows I will consider the question of whether the changes in Grimm's Law forced phonological restructuring, and if so, how a change in markedness was involved in that restructuring. I will assume that there are language-par-

ticular markedness rules of the form of (iv) and will discuss changes in terms of them. If the reader has some preference for phonological rules like (iv') over such markedness rules, he can construct from each markedness rule the corresponding phonological rule by changing the m's to plusses and the u's to minuses.

I will assume the following chronology of the stages of Grimm's Law:

- (1) Voiceless stops become aspirated, except after obstruents.
- (2) Voiced unaspirated stops become voiceless.
- (3) Aspirated stops become continuant.⁵

As Kiparsky points out, the usual arguments for the changes of Grimm's Law can be captured in the history of four forms:⁶

(v) skabian skabtas nasian nasitas

The usual arguments concerning the nature of the changes that occurred in Grimm's Law do not depend crucially on examples such as mizdho- and ozdos. These cases are usually only brought forth to show that s and z were not in phonemic contrast to Indo-European. I shall first consider the arguments for restructuring in Grimm's Law without these cases. Then I shall show that the inclusion of these cases changes those arguments.

Before the operation of Grimm's Law, there was a rule in the phonology of Indo-European that made all obstruents voiceless when they preceded a voiceless obstruent. I will call this Rule O.

Rule O.	<div style="display: inline-block; text-align: left;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; margin-right: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[+OBSTR]</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[-VOICE]</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[+OBSTR]</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[-VOICE]</div> </div> </div>
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Rule O changes skabtas to skaptas.⁷ Prior to Grimm's Law we have:

(vi) skabian skaptas nasian nasitas

In the first stage of Grimm's Law, Rule 1 is added to the grammar following Rule O.

Rule 1.	<div style="display: inline-block; text-align: left;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; margin-right: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">{[-SEGMENT]}</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">{[-OBSTR]}</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[+OBSTR]</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[-CONT]</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[-VOICE]</div> </div> </div>
	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">↓</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[+ASP]</div> </div>

After this stage of Grimm's Law, a synchronic phonology that mirrored the historical changes would have the underlying representations of (v) and Rules O and 1 in that order. I will call this GRAMMAR I.

At this point there are other possible grammars. Consider GRAMMAR IA, where a different consonant system (vii) and different systematic phonemic representations (viii) occur, though with the same markedness relationships.

	p ^h	b	b ^h		p ^h	b	b ^h	
VOICING	u	m	u		-	+	+	(vii)
ASPIRATION	u	u	m		+	-	+	

With such a consonant system, the systematic representations corresponding to the least marked lexical representations would be:

(viii) sk^habian sk^habthas nasian nasithas

In this consonant system we would need markedness rules (ix) and (x) instead of (iv).

(ix)	[mASP] ↓ [mVOICE]	(x)	[uVOICE] [mOBSTR] ↓ [mASP]
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Given the representations of (viii), the correct output could be derived in one step by means of Rule 1A, which applies to two segments simultaneously.

Rule 1A.	[+OBSTR] [β STRD] ↓ [-β ASP]	[+OBSTR] [-VOICE] ↓ [-ASP]
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1A changes (viii) to (xi).

(xi) skabian skap^htas nasian nasithas

What is characteristic of GRAMMAR 1A is that the consonant system has been changed without any change in the underlying markedness relationships (compare [iii] and [vii]). All voiceless stops have been replaced by voiceless aspirates. This is accomplished by (x), a segment structure rule. However, since (x) creates more aspirates than did the actual innovation (Rule 1), the new phonological rule of GRAMMAR 1A must undo part of the work of (x). That is, it must operate in a direction opposite to that of the original change.

GRAMMAR 1B, also possible at this stage, is similar to GRAMMAR 1A in that p^h-b-b^h is assumed to be the consonant system. However, the markedness relationships in this consonant system are somewhat different in that /b/ is unmarked and /b^h/ is marked for voicing rather than for aspiration.

	p ^h	b	b ^h		p ^h	b	b ^h
VOICING	u	u	m		-	+	+
ASPIRATION	m	u	u		+	-	+

Instead of markedness rules (ix) and (x) we need rules (xiii) and (xiv).

(xiii)	[mVOICE] [mOBSTR] ↓ [mASP]	(xiv)	[mOBSTR] [mASP] ↓ [mVOICE]
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Given this consonant system, the least marked underlying representations would be those of (xv).

(xv) sgabian sgab^has nasian nasit^has

The correct output can now be derived by a single rule analogous to Rule 1A.

	[+OBSTR]	[+OBSTR]
	[β STRD]	
	↓	↓
Rule 1B.	↓	↓
	[-VOICE]	[-VOICE]
	[-β ASP]	[-ASP]

1B will change (xv) to (xvi).

(xvi) skabian skap^has nasian nasit^has

GRAMMARS I, IA, and IB show clearly the difference between lexical representation (in terms of markedness) and systematic phonemic representation (in terms of plusses and minuses). Consider the k in skab-. It has a different systematic phonemic representation in each of the three grammars.

GRAMMAR I: skab-

GRAMMAR IA: sk^hab-

GRAMMAR IB: sgab-

But in all of these grammars, the k has the same *lexical* representation, that is, it is unmarked for both voicing and aspiration. Now consider the b in skab-. In all three grammars it has the same systematic phonemic representation, that is, as a b. But in GRAMMAR IB, it is lexically unmarked for voicing, while in GRAMMARS I and IA, it is lexically marked for voicing.

GRAMMAR I, IA, and IB are equally simple in that their phonological rules have the same number of features. Therefore, under the assumption that rules may apply to two segments simultaneously, we find no argument either for or against restructuring in this case.

Incidentally, GRAMMAR IB is equivalent to the assertion made by Kuryłowicz⁸ that in the position following s voiceless stops were reinterpreted as voiced stops and the consonant system changed so that voiced stops became unmarked.

GRAMMARS IA and IB have very strange consonant systems--systems that just don't seem to occur in real natural languages. The source of the putative consonant systems lies in language-specific segment structure rules such as (x) and (xiv), which have u's in their environment statements. If we were to rule out such markedness rules from the theory of generative phonology, then GRAMMARS IA and IB would be impossible. In fact, the possibility of such consonant systems is a point of contention between Kuryłowicz and Fourquet.⁹ Kuryłowicz considers the consonant system of IB to be possible, but unstable. The voiced stops, no longer carrying voicing as a distinctive mark, lose their voicing--just as a species might through evolution lose an unused appendage. Fourquet, on the other hand, considers the systems of IA and IB to be impossible and claims that stage one of Grimm's Law did not exist. Instead, he claims, the aspiration of the voiceless stops and the devoicing of the voiced stops oc-

curred simultaneously.

As we have seen, the question as to whether restructuring occurred after the first stage of Grimm's Law turns on a number of complicated theoretical issues. If, for example, we were to rule out all two-segment rules, then GRAMMARS IA and IB would have to be restated in terms of two one-segment rules. Since such grammars would be more complicated than GRAMMAR I, the claim that there are no two-segment rules would entail the assertion that restructuring did not occur after the first stage of Grimm's Law. However, as the stages of Grimm's Law progress, the arguments for restructuring become stronger. After stage two, they override all theoretical considerations.

In the second stage of Grimm's Law, voiced stops become voiceless. One possible grammar for this stage would be GRAMMAR I with rule 2 added after rules 0 and 1.

Rule 2. [+OBSTR]
 [-CONT]
 [-ASP]
 ↓
 [-VOICE]

We will call this grammar GRAMMAR II. This is the grammar that recapitulates the historical changes.

Another possible grammar for this stage, GRAMMAR IIA, would have roughly the same consonant system as GRAMMAR IB, but without the markedness rule of (xiv).

	p ^h	p	b ^h	p ^h	p	b ^h	
VOICING	u	u	m	-	-	+	
ASPIRATION	m	u	u	+	-	+	(xvii)

The system would retain the markedness rule of (xiii).

GRAMMAR IIA would have the same systematic representations as GRAMMAR IA, but with all occurrences of /b/ replaced by /p/:

(xviii) sk^hapian sk^hap^htas nasian nasith^has

Rule 2A would then apply to these representations.

Rule 2A. [+OBSTR] [+OBSTR]
 [-STRID] [-VOICE]
 ↓ ↓
 [+ASP] [-ASP]

The application of 2A to the forms of (xviii) would yield:

(xix) skapian skap^htas nasian nasith^has

We can form GRAMMAR IIB by taking the systematic phonemic representations of GRAMMAR IB (see [xvi]) and replacing all the voiced stops by voiceless stops. Thus we would have:

(xx) skapian skapt^has nasian nasith^has

GRAMMAR IIB will be identical to GRAMMAR IIA, except for these representations. Note that in (xx) the only form at variance with the desired phonetic output is /skapt^has/. Rule 2A will

change this form to [skap^htas], which is the desired result.

The lexical representations of GRAMMAR IIA (xviii), which are carried over from the representations of GRAMMAR IA, are somewhat more marked than those of GRAMMAR IIB (xx). For example, in GRAMMAR IIA, the k^h in skap- is marked for aspiration, while in GRAMMAR IIB, the k in skap- is unmarked. Since the grammars are identical in all other respects, GRAMMAR IIB might be considered more highly valued than GRAMMAR IIA.

In a theory in which two-segment rules are permitted, GRAMMAR IIB would be more highly valued than GRAMMAR II by eight features. But even if two-segment rules were not permitted in phonological theory, a slightly more complicated grammar corresponding to GRAMMAR IIB would still be more highly valued than GRAMMAR II. We will call this grammar GRAMMAR IIB* and we will form it by replacing Rule 2A by the following two rules:

	[+OBSTR]	[+OBSTR]		[+OBSTR]	[+OBSTR]
	[-STRID]				[-VOICE]
Rule	↓		Rule	↓	
2A'.			2A".		
	[+ASP]				[-ASP]

GRAMMAR IIB* would still be simpler than GRAMMAR II by six features. Thus, restructuring is favored at this stage, regardless of any theoretical considerations.

At the third stage of Grimm's Law aspirates become continuants. A grammar which recapitulates historical change would represent this stage if it were formed by adding Rule 3 to GRAMMAR II after Rule 2. We will call this GRAMMAR III.

	[+OBSTR]
Rule 3.	[+ASP]
	↓
	[+ CONT]

Rule 3, applying to the output of stage two of Grimm's Law (xix) would yield:

(xxi) skapian skaftas nasian nasiθas

At this stage, there is a much simpler grammar than GRAMMAR III. It is analogous to GRAMMAR IIB, and we will refer to it as GRAMMAR IIIA. Essentially IIIA differs from IIB in that wherever the feature ASPIRATE played a role in IIB, the feature CONTINUANT plays that role in IIIA.

Consider, for example, the consonant system of IIB with the specification for the feature CONTINUANT included.

	p ^h	p	b ^h	p ^h	p	b ^h	
VOICING	u	u	m	-	-	+	
ASPIRATION	m	u	u	+	-	+	(xxii)
CONTINUANT	u	u	u	-	-	-	

The consonant system of IIIA would be:

	f	p	v	f	p	v	
VOICING	u	u	m	-	-	+	
ASPIRATION	u	u	u	-	-	-	(xxiii)
CONTINUANT	m	u	u	+	-	+	

Where IIB contains the markedness rule

[mVOICE]
↓
[mASP] (xiii)

IIIA contains the corresponding rule

[mVOICE]
↓
[m CONT] (xxiv)

The systematic phonemic representations of IIIA are the same as those of IIB, except that continuants have replaced aspirates in all positions. The systematic phonemic representation of IIIA would be:

(xxv) skapian skapθas nasian nasiθas

Where IIB has Rule 2A, IIIA will have the analogous Rule 3A:

Rule 3A. [+OBSTR] [+OBSTR]
 [-STRID]
 ↓ ↓
 [+ CONT] [- CONT]

In (xxv), /skapθas/ is the only form that does not correspond to its phonetic interpretation. Rule 3A will convert it to [skaftas].

GRAMMAR IIIA is one feature simpler than GRAMMAR IIB. Since GRAMMAR III is three features more complex than GRAMMAR II, the argument in favor of restructuring at this stage of Grimm's Law is just that much more compelling.

So far we have not considered the cases of mizdh^ho- and ozdos. Let us do so now. Indo-European /misdh^ho-/ and /osdos/ were represented phonetically as [mizdh^ho-] and [ozdos] respectively, there being no systematic phonemic contrast between /s/ and /z/. This indicates that Rule O as we have stated it is not sufficiently general. It should be restated

Rule O'. [+OBSTR] [+OBSTR]
 ↓ [αVOICE]
 ↓
 [αVOICE]

Stage 1 of Grimm's Law did not affect these forms at all. Their phonetic representations remained the same, and there is no reason to believe that their systematic phonemic representations would be any different regardless of any restructuring that might have taken place.

Although it is easy to change Rule O to accomodate this additional data in GRAMMAR I, this data cannot be accomodated at all in GRAMMAR IB. GRAMMAR IB, which is the best we could do in reconstructing the suggestions offered by Kuryłowicz in "Le Sens des Mutations Consonantiques," turns out to be inadequate. Kuryłowicz claims that there is a stage of Germanic after the aspiration of voiceless stops and before the devoicing of voiced stops at which voiceless stops which remained unaspirated after /s/ were reinterpreted as underlying voiced stops. Thus we would have to have the systematic phonemic /sgabian/ and /osdos/ appearing phonetically as [skabian] and [ozdos]. In one case (sgabian > skabian) the first member of the cluster determines the voicing of the cluster, while in the other case (osdos > ozdos) the second member of the cluster determines the voicing of the cluster. Kuryłowicz cannot have it both ways. If there is a single general process of voicing assimilation in consonant clusters, either the first consonant must assimilate to the second, or vice versa, but not both. The alternation [skab-] ~ [skap-] in [skabian] and [skaptas] provides independent evidence that it is the second consonant in the cluster that determines the direction of the assimilation. There is no independent evidence whatever for Kuryłowicz' claim that the first member of the cluster may determine the direction of assimilation. One might conceivably (by some accidental quirks in the surviving data) be able to write rules which would map Kuryłowicz' underlying forms into the proper phonetic outputs, but the rules would be absurdly complicated and ad hoc--and they would miss the simple generalization stated in Rule O'.

GRAMMAR IA does not fail nearly as badly. The underlying representations of (vii) can be maintained provided that Rule O' is added to the grammar before Rule 1A. But now our revised version of GRAMMAR IA is more complicated (by three features) than the revised GRAMMAR I (which is exactly as complicated as the original GRAMMAR I). Thus our original data provide a three-feature argument that there was no restructuring after the first stage of Grimm's Law. If two-segment rules are proscribed, the argument becomes a five-feature one.

At stage 2 of Grimm's Law /misd^ho-/ and /osdos/ have the phonetic representations of [mizd^ho-] and [ostos].¹⁰ What is most interesting about these facts is that GRAMMAR II (with Rule O' instead of Rule O), which presumably recapitulates the history of the changes, *cannot account for this data*. Let us apply the rules of GRAMMAR II to /osdos/.

osdos	systematic phonemic representation
ozdos	Rule O' (voicing assimilation)
ozdos	Rule 1
oztos	Rule 2

Thus, the grammar which contains what are presumably the historical changes in their correct order simply does not jibe with the data. Note that in order to get the correct output, one would need to apply a *second* voicing assimilation rule after Rule 2. Note that Rule 0' cannot simply be moved down to follow Rule 2, since it must apply before Rule 1 in the derivation applying to /skabtas/.

skabtas	systematic phonemic representation
skaptas	Rule 0'
skap ^h tas	Rule 1
skap ^h tas	Rule 2

If we want to maintain a grammar that partially reflects what seem to be the historical changes, then we must be prepared to give up all hope of accounting for voicing by a single general rule.

But the fact that GRAMMAR II cannot account for our additional data has more profound consequences than that. It has usually been assumed that what happened historically between the first and second stages of Grimm's Law was that Rule 2 was added to the grammar of stage 1. And it is hard to imagine how else such a change could have arisen. The fact that this cannot be described within the present theory of generative phonology without missing the generalization about assimilation in consonant clusters shows that there is something wrong with the present theory of generative phonology. However, I can imagine another version of the theory of generative phonology that does not have this defect. Chomsky and Halle¹¹ have proposed that universal markedness rules should operate throughout the phonology. Thus, a rule that changed /u/ to /i/ would only have to indicate a change in gravity. The corresponding change in rounding would follow from the universal rule which states that in the unmarked case rounding assimilates to gravity. The version of the theory which we have in mind is one in which there are not only universal markedness interpretation rules but language-particular ones as well. In this version, language-particular markedness rules as well as universal ones apply throughout the phonology (or down to a certain point). Now suppose we assume that in Germanic voicing assimilation is a language-particular markedness interpretation rule. (It is not clear how one might state such a rule formally.) If this rule were to apply everywhere in the phonology,¹² then the above difficulty would disappear.

The arguments that I have given for restructuring are based largely on the Chomsky-Halle evaluation metric. In this case, I think that the metric gives essentially the correct result, namely, that restructuring must have taken place after stage 2 of Grimm's Law. I am, however, extremely suspicious of feature-counting arguments and would like to avoid them if possible. I believe that the argument for restructuring should follow from general principles of phonology (such as Postal's naturalness condition) and from substantive constraints on what are possible rules. Unfortunately, there are to my knowledge no such principles known which would be specific enough to account for restructuring as well as the Chomsky-Halle metric does. Until such principles are found, I believe that our understanding of such phonological changes as Grimm's Law must remain incomplete.

Notes

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1. Halle, M. "Phonology in a Generative Grammar," Word, 1962.
2. Kiparsky, P. Phonological Change. M.I.T. Dissertation, 1965. Chapter 1.
3. Kiparsky, op. cit.
4. Jakobson, R. "Typological Studies and Their Contribution to Historical Comparative Linguistics," Selected Writings I, Mouton, 1962.
5. I have chosen this chronology since it seems to me the most reasonable one. However, other reasonable alternatives would yield similar results. For the sake of simplicity, I have excluded Verner's Law from consideration in this paper.
6. Kiparsky, op. cit.
7. There is also a late phonetic rule that changes i to j after consonants and before vowels. This would yield [skabjan] and [nasjan]. Since this rule plays no role in our discussion, we will ignore it and consider [skabian] and [nasian] as "phonetic" outputs of the phonology.
8. Kurylowicz, J. "Le Sens des Mutations Consonantiques," in Esquisses Linguistiques, 1960, pp. 240-247.
9. Fourquet, J. Les Mutations Consonantiques du Germanique. Paris, 1948.
10. Since consonants are our main concern, we will ignore the problem of o changing to a to yield the Germanic *astas > *astaz > Gothic asts (Syncope of unstressed vowel).
11. Sound Pattern of English, Harper and Row, 1968.
12. To say that all such rules applied throughout the entire phonology would be much too strong a claim, since that would entail that the inventory of systematic phonemes could not be changed or enlarged through the operation of phonological rules. It has been proposed by Richard Carter and myself that markedness rules apply only down to some point in the phonology, but not below that point. This proposal would have the following consequences. The rules above that point would convert systematic phonemes into other systematic phonemes; no rule above that point in the grammar could introduce a complex of features that was not in the inventory of systematic phonemes. All the rules introducing new complexes of features would come below that point. This is an empirical claim, and it happens to be false. In fact, Rule III, the third stage of Grimm's Law, which changes aspirated obstruents to continuants, is a counterexample. If markedness conditions were to apply to Rule III, then it would follow by the principle that unmarked continuant obstruents are strident, that Rule III would produce strident continuants only. But Rule III changes th to θ (nasithas > nasiθas), not to s. Thus the above markedness principle

does not apply, and according to our claim Rule III would have to occur below the point in the grammar where markedness rules cease to apply. Note, however, there is another universal markedness condition stating that continuant obstruents are not aspirated. Since the aspirates upon which Rule III operates must become unaspirated by virtue of their becoming continuant, this markedness principle must apply to those cases that undergo Rule III. According to our principle, Rule III must, on this evidence, be above the point in the grammar where markedness rules cease to operate. Our principle thus yields a contradiction. We do not know how markedness principles do operate, but this example shows one way in which they cannot operate.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN PROVERB

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This article is an attempt to classify Russian proverbs, not on the basis of subject matter but according to formal considerations. A basic assumption is that all Russian proverbs are bipartite, that is, consist of two parts or propositions. There are various types of repetition that may occur, and an analysis of these devices of repetition is what provides the basis for this system of classification. There are three major classifications of the basic devices of repetition: phonetic, grammatical, and formulaic.

The first of these three major groups is the one to which most attention has been paid and for that reason only scant attention will be paid to it in this article.

The most basic type of phonetic repetition and one which is central for any analysis of the proverb is, of course, rhyme. The importance of rhyme, particularly end-rhyme, as an element of the proverbial style, is noted in an anonymous article on Russian proverbs in which it is stated: "Even where reason remains, the want of rhyme in a popular saying is often fatal. We recognize a magic force in 'A stitch in time saves nine' which 'A stitch in time saves eight' would never have exercised."¹ There are many other types of phonetic repetition found in the proverbs and these have been outlined and discussed before.² A description of these various types of phonetic devices would provide a catalog of exotic Greek terms like mesophonia, parechesis, paramoion, etc., as well as a list of more familiar ones. However, regardless of what terms are used, proverbs in which the major device of repetition is based on likeness of sound may be classified according to grammatical criteria, since rhyme, or any other type of phonetic likeness, can be grammatical or antigrammatical, but never agrammatical.³ All the examples of proverbs of this type are characterized by antigrammatical rhyme, owing to the fact that proverbs containing phonetic likeness as well as grammatical parallelism necessarily fall into the next major group. Proverbs with antigrammatical rhyme as the major device of repetition may be subdivided into three groups in dependence upon whether the word-pairs contain words that are the same part of speech; words that are not the same part of speech, but are both inflected forms; or word-pairs containing both inflected and non-inflected forms. Some examples are:⁴

Скупому душа дешевле гроша.

Варила баба брагу, да и упала к оврагу.

Ешь пироги, а хлеб вперед береги.

Хлеб да живот — и без денег живет.

Я за пирог, а черт поперек.

Отдал поклон, да и ступай вон!

In the examples above, the first two typify the first subgroup, the next two, the second, and the last two, the third.

Under grammatical devices of repetition we include: an identity of syntactic structure in each proposition; a repetition of the same word in different categories; a repetition of the same root in different words; a repetition of the same affix; a

repetition of words that belong to the same declensional or conjugational type. Examples of the first major subgroup, that is, identity of syntactic structure, are:

Часом с квасом, а порою с водою.

Убожество учит, богатство пучит.

Богатый не золото ест, а бедный не камень гложет.

Богатый не сахар зоблет, убогий не камень гложет.

As indicated, the basic device in this group of proverbs is a more or less identical syntactic structure in each proposition. Elements of phonetic similarity, if present, play a secondary, often decorative, role. This fact is attested to by a large number of proverb-pairs (like the last two examples above) where there is found an identity of structure coupled with rhyme or other phonetic likeness in one of the proverbs, but not in the other.

There would also be included in this group those proverbs which are characterized by a repetition of words in the same grammatical category, even though there is not complete identity of syntactic structure in each proposition. The obverse of this is found in the next subgroup, that is, a repetition of the same word in different grammatical categories. Examples are:

В тревогу — и мы к богу, а по тревоге — забыли о боге.

И с умом, да с пустой сумой, а и без ума, да туга сума.

Умел дитя годить, умей и научить.

The next two subdivisions involve a repetition of words with the same root or of words with the same affix. Examples of the first are:

Ехал наживать, а пришлось проживать.

Никто не может, так бог поможет.

Убогий бога боится и богача боится, а богатый никого не боится.

Some examples of the repetition of words with the same affix are:

Богатому старость, а убогому радость.

Держи девку в темноте, а деньги в тесноте.

Богово дорого, бесово дешево.

Беда вымучит, беда и выучит.

The last subgroup contains proverbs in which the basic device of repetition involves words of the same declensional or conjugational type. Especially common here are word-pairs involving nouns or verbs which belong to groups containing only a small number of items, for example, neuter nouns in -мя (the first example) or verbs of the пить-type (the second example). The fewer the number of words that belong to a given type the more effective is the linking of these words. Such is the case in the third example below, where the end-words are forms of the only two verbs in contemporary standard Russian which represent the athematic class of verbs and are now generally treated as irregular.

Всякое семя знает свое время.

Как ни бьемся, а к вечеру напьемся.

Бог не даст, свинья не съест.

Up to now we have discussed devices of repetition which are based either on the repetition of homophonous elements or of elements which are similar grammatically (and which may incidentally also be homophonous), but not with the repetition of any particular word-pair. In examining the formulaic devices of repetition we are concerned with certain word-pairs which are found to occur with particular frequency among the proverbs. These formulae may be further subdivided into three groups: correlative, contrastive or conjunctive.

The first, the correlative formulae, contain a very large number of proverbs in which correlative pairs composed of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns or adverbs create the basic means of union of one proposition with the other. Each example of a correlative formula listed below itself serves as a model for the various subdivisions within the correlative formulae. The formulae are: кто-тот, чей-тот, что-то, каков-таков, где-там, как-так, когда-тогда, куда-туда. Examples:

Кто богу угоден, тот и людям пригоден.

Тошно тому, кто сражается, а тошнее тому, кто останется.

Что батюшка лопаточкой сгребал, то сынок тросточкою расшвырял.

Каково семя, таково и племя.

Где льется, там и живется.

Как умею, так и брею.

Когда играют, тогда и пляши.

Куда иголка, туда и нитка.

Obviously more than one type of repetition may be found in a proverb and it is in this group that an accretion of devices is observed. While there are proverbs of this type in which the only device of repetition is the formula itself, much more common is the appearance of other devices. For example, we see a repetition of words of the same root in the first one, words of the same declensional type in the fourth one, and an identity of structure in each proposition in all but the next to last one. Thus, whether the formula stands alone as the only device of repetition, or whether there are other devices present as well, the presence of the formula demands that such proverbs be grouped with those containing a formula.

The second major subdivision of the formulaic proverbs contains contrastive formulae. The formulae in this section, as the title indicates, take part in the presentation of a contrast between the major elements of each proposition. It should be noted that just as the proverbs that have been selected as examples in no way represent all the proverbs, but only enough to make a given point clear, so the number of formulae represents not an exhaustive catalog of all the possibilities but merely a few of the more common and notable ones. Here, too, the examples will serve as a model for each of the various subdivisions with-

in the contrastive formulae. The contrastive formulae are:
не-а, лучше-чем, кому-нам. Examples:

Не за то волка бьют, что сер, а за то, что овцу съел.

Лучше раз в году родить, чем день-деньской бороду брить.

Кому чудо, а нам чадо.

The proverbs of the first type (не-а) generally begin with the negative не; the second proposition may often have ellipsis of the conjunction а, or replacement of it by the more colloquial да. Proverbs containing this formula almost always have some other device present. The proverbs with the лучше-чем formula generally have an identity of structure in each proposition, often involving an infinitive construction. The third formula in this group, кому-нам, shows far more variation in the formulaic elements than any other. The proverbs of this type are unified by an opposition based on the contrast of first person pronoun (usually нам) with forms that signify someone else (usually some form of the pronoun кто, most often the dative кому). The most common replacements for кому are forms of the noun люди or the adjective чужой.

The third group, the conjunctive formulae, differs from the first group where the formulaic elements were related but not identical, and from the second where contrast was the central factor, in that their formulaic elements are identical and, except for occasional examples of ellipsis, are repeated usually at the beginning of each proposition. The formulae are: не-не, либо-либо, ни-ни, and кому-кому. Examples are:

Не петь куре петухом, не владеть бабе мужчином.

Либо мед пить, либо биту быть.

Ни конному, ни пешему, ни проходу, ни проезду.

Ни дна в тебе, ни покрывки, ни дыху, ни передышки.

Кому лежать работать, кому стоя дремать.

In most instances there is found a high degree of symmetry based upon homophony and/or identity of syntactic structure in each proposition as well as other types of repetition. There is very little variation of the formulaic elements and almost never is there ellipsis of one of these elements. The либо-либо formula is sometimes replaced by the related forms или-или or хоть-хоть, while кому may be replaced by some other case form (кто, кого). In this latter instance, whenever this occurs, the same case form will always appear in both propositions.

It is not difficult to find many examples of proverbs with more than one formula present. Either there is doubling of the formula (e.g., the third and fourth examples above), or there may be some other formula present, a mixing of formulae (Что кому надобно, то тому и замило). In these instances it can usually be shown that one of the formulae is the basic one and serves as the means of classification in the same way that a proverb containing more than one device of repetition will be classified according to which device is the basic one.

It was stated earlier in this article that a basic assumption is that all Russian proverbs are bipartite. There is, however, a large group of Russian proverbs which consist of three parts and it will be necessary to show that these tripartite

proverbs, though composed of three parts (which will be referred to here as terms), actually do consist of two propositions. By this it is meant that the three terms can be shown to pattern always in such a way that the first two are opposed to the third. In other words, the first two terms comprehend the first proposition and the third term stands as the second proposition. The various devices of repetition which have been discussed in the preceding part of this article are of central importance in demonstrating the manner in which this patterning is achieved. That is, where previously these devices are discussed in order to show their function within the structure of bipartite proverbs, here attention will be focused upon them in the role they play in the patterning of tripartite proverbs.

It has been pointed out earlier that rhyme is the most common element among the proverbs. Its function in dividing the tripartite proverbs into two propositions is so important that it has been chosen as a criterion for classifying them as well. That is, there are three basic types of rhyme or homophony that are found among these proverbs: 1) rhyme involving terms one and two (ab rhyme); 2) that involving terms two and three (bc rhyme); and 3) likeness in all three terms (abc) or the obverse, no rhyme at all. The first two types of phonetic repetition, it will be shown, provide in themselves a means of binary division; the third must have other means of uniting the first two terms against the third. In fact, however, other devices are seen to operate in the first two types as well, reinforcing the basic division created by the sound. Another formal element to be noted along with rhyme as a device of division is the longer length of the third term. In a great many proverbs, especially those with bc rhyme, the third term has a greater number of syllables than the first or second term. This helps to provide rhythmic support for the opposition of terms one and two to three.

Examples of proverbs of the first subtype are:

Из короба не лезет, в коробе не едет и короба не отдает.

Лег — свернулся, встал — встряхнулся: вот моя жизнь.

И холодно, и голодно, и до дому далеко.

Держи голову в холоде, живот в голоде, а ноги в тепле.

Один кинул — не докинул; другой кинул — перекинул;
третий кинул — не попал.

In such proverbs binary division is achieved primarily by linking the first two terms to each other in opposition to the third. This linking is based on the ab rhyme, but other devices also play a role. For example, in the first proverb above, the end-words are both determined forms of motion verbs; in the second, there is a repetition of the same suffix; in the third and fourth, a repetition of pleophonic forms. Other factors could be cited (e.g., the defeated expectancy occasioned by не попал in the fifth one) as contributing to the attempt to set the third term apart from the first two, but the process is sufficiently clear and there is no need to belabor it.

In the proverbs of the second subtype the effect of bipartition is achieved in a somewhat different way from that of the first subtype. Instead of unifying the first two terms against the third on the basis of homophony between the first two terms,

in these proverbs the binary effect is produced mainly by likeness of sound between the second and the third terms. In this way the end words of terms two and three resemble the end words of a normal bipartite proverb. The predominance of a longer third term among this type of tripartite proverb helps to further this impression. For example, in the first proverb terms one and two comprise a proverb containing the что-то formula; this helps to set it off from the third term. In the second and third proverbs of this type the longer length of the third term, brought about by an added element (от беды in the second, и песенки in the third), is significant. That is, besides making the third term as long as the first and second combined, the added items also help to make the syntactic structure of the third term different from that of the first two.

Что испекли, то и съедим, а завтра поглядим.

Ни дна, ни покрывки, ни от беды передышки.

Сам пашет, сам орет, сам и песенки поет.

In proverbs of the third subtype we find rhyme, or the lack of it, in all three terms and thus we cannot rely on the sound alone for signalling the binary division. Here reference must be made to other devices which in subtypes one and two were noted as aiding or sustaining the bipartition but which did not have to be cited to show this division. Examples are:

И холодовал, и голодовал, и нужу знавал.

Семь сел, один вол, да и тот гол.

Первый сын богу, второй царю, третий себе на пропитание.

Портной — вор, сапожник — буян, кузнец — пьяница.

Служал семь лет, выслужил семь реп, да и тех нет.

These other devices are, for example, the almost formulaic pairing of the roots холод- and голод- in the first proverb above; the identity of structure in the first two terms of the second and third examples reinforced by the longer length of the third term in the latter; and the repetition of words with the same root as well as an identity of structure in the first two terms of the fifth example above.

A question which may be raised at this point, and not without justification, is why, if both binary and ternary tendencies are found, should we assume the binary pattern to be the basic one rather than the ternary, since these proverbs do consist of three terms. There are several reasons for assuming that even though these proverbs contain three parts they are nonetheless bipartite in structure. The most basic reason is that this assumption is prompted by the general structure of the Russian proverb as a whole. That is, if the overwhelming majority of Russian proverbs are bipartite in structure, why not assume that this may be a general characteristic of all Russian proverbs; and if there are certain features in the structure of proverbs consisting of three terms which indicate a binary division, then the assumption is even more valid. This, the presence of binary devices, is thus the second reason. Neither the first nor the second reason alone is sufficient, but taken together they constitute adequate justification for assuming the binary division to be the basic one. Thus, for example, in the case of the

fourth proverb above, it could be argued that the opposition of terms one and two against the third is based on the fact that the end-words of the first two terms are masculine nouns with the normal ending (-Ø) for masculines, while the end-word of the third term has the less common (for masculines) ending -a. Much more basic here, however, is the force of all the other proverbs with a palpably bipartite structure which is exerting a very strong influence on those few in which this force is less clearly felt.

As stated at the beginning of this article, this is an attempt to classify Russian proverbs, but very little has so far been said about this question. It is clear that the devices of repetition that have been examined can serve as the criteria for a system of classification in the following way. All proverbs that contain three terms would automatically belong to the group of tripartite proverbs, which, as has been noted, may be divided into three subgroups. Any proverb containing one of the proverbial formulae would belong to one of the appropriate subgroups of this major type. In a similar manner, those proverbs in which one of the grammatical devices of repetition is basic would belong to that particular subgroup. Finally, any proverb distinguished by antigrammatical rhyme would be grouped with proverbs of that type. Where more than one device is found, a decision will have to be made regarding which device is basic. Thus there would be a hierarchy of devices, with those that are distinguished by tripartition at the top, followed by those containing a formula, a grammatical device of repetition, and ending with those characterized solely by phonetic repetition. This would leave only those proverbs in which there is no device of repetition at all, a small number of proverbs which have not been examined at all in this paper, since the concern here has been with those containing a device of repetition.⁵ This former group, it can be demonstrated, consists of proverbs in which the relationship between the two propositions can be summarized in grammatical terms, but not in terms of repetition. Thus, a proverb such as "Скупому душа дешевле гроша," though not basically different from "Пьяному — и море по колено," would belong to the group distinguished by antigrammatical rhyme, while the latter proverb would have to be assigned to the group in which no devices of repetition are found. An analysis of proverbs of this latter type could be made with a division into various subgroups. There would then be a basic division into two major groups: those proverbs in which a device of repetition is present and those in which no such device is found. The former group has been examined in this paper; the latter group still requires attention.

Notes

1. "Russian Proverbs," The Quarterly Review, CXXXIX (1875), 496.
2. To name only the most obvious sources: Ю. М. Соколов, Русский фольклор, (Москва: 1941), pp. 214-216; В. И. Даль, Пословицы русского народа, (Москва: 1957), pp. 23-26.

3. Roman Jakobson, "The Phonemic and Grammatical Aspects of Language in Their Interrelations," Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Linguists, (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1949), p. 14.
4. All of the examples are drawn from Даль.
5. No attempt has been made to determine the ratio of proverbs containing a device of repetition to those without such a device. The conclusions reached in this paper are based on an analysis of the entire corpus of Даль, Пословицы русского народа. This analysis suggested the divisions according to type of repetition and a representative sample of approximately 1400 proverbs was selected for further study. The breakdown of major types within this sample of 1400 is as follows:

phonetic devices	— 10 per cent
grammatical devices	— 28 per cent
formulaic devices	— 50 per cent
tripartite proverbs	— 12 per cent

AN ANALYSIS OF akan'e AND ikan'e IN MODERN RUSSIAN
USING THE NOTION OF MARKEDNESS

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It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this paper to my first teacher in Slavic Linguistics, Roman Jakobson, for it is he, more than any other, who has insisted on the importance of markedness in linguistic descriptions and who has furthered our understanding of Russian.

It seems quite clear that incorporation of the notion of markedness within the theory of phonology permits a significant advance in our understanding of phonological processes, and in this article I shall not attempt to motivate the need for using the notion of markedness. Rather, I shall simply accept the need for this notion and will apply a formalism, suggested by Chomsky and Halle in *The Sound Pattern of English*, to the well-known problem of akan'e and ikan'e in modern Russian. It will, of course, be necessary to explain this formalism, and I shall do so as briefly as possible in section 1, after which (§§2-3) I turn to the problem under consideration. In §4 I shall treat very briefly the phenomenon of ekan'e. In the final section of the paper (§5), I shall venture a few remarks on directions in which this study might be continued.

#1. Chomsky and Halle's formalism of markedness.

It is commonly agreed that of the pair y and u, y is marked for flat (rounding) and u unmarked for flat; of the pair ü and i, ü is marked for flat and i unmarked for flat. Examination of different pairs of such vowels results in a chart of the following type:

segment:	i	ü	u	y	ö	e	γ ¹	o	ae	a
flat:	U	M	U	M	M	U	M	U	U	U

where U = unmarked and M = marked

From this chart (which can easily be expanded to include other vowels), we can see that in compact (low) vowels, the Uflat members are -flat, the Mflat members +flat, and that in non-compact vowels, flatness has the same sign as gravity for Uflat members, the opposite sign as gravity for Mflat members. The following rule, then, will correctly specify Uflat vowels in terms of +flat or -flat:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \text{(flat)} & [\text{Uflat}] & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{flat}] \quad / \quad \boxed{+\text{compact}} \\ \alpha\text{flat} \quad / \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \alpha\text{grave} \\ -\text{compact} \end{array}} \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

where α is a variable ranging over the values + and -.

The following rule will specify Mflat vowels in terms of +flat and -flat:

$$(\text{flat})' \quad [\text{Mflat}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+flat] & / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ +compact \end{array} \right] \\ [-\alpha\text{flat}] & / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha\text{grave} \\ \text{---} \\ -compact \end{array} \right] \end{cases}$$

Comparison of (flat) and (flat)' reveals that (flat)' has just the reverse effect as (flat); this will always be the case with rules that interpret U and M specifications in terms of + and -. We can therefore say that a rule of the form

$$[\text{Ux}] \rightarrow [\alpha\text{x}] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \beta\text{y} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{where } \underline{x} \text{ and } \underline{y} \text{ are phonological features}$$

is to be interpreted as an abbreviation for the following two rules:

$$[\text{Ux}] \rightarrow [\alpha\text{x}] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \beta\text{y} \end{array} \right]$$

$$[\text{Mx}] \rightarrow [-\alpha\text{x}] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \beta\text{y} \end{array} \right]$$

Under this convention, rule (flat) is an abbreviation for both (flat) and (flat)'; rule (flat)' need not be explicitly formulated.

Rules which interpret U's and M's in terms of +'s and -'s are called universal interpretive conventions (henceforth UIC's); such conventions are not part of the grammar of any individual language, but are universal conventions which interpret grammars of individual languages. We must, of course, formulate UIC's for all features.² Consider the vowel a, that vowel which Jakobson calls the "optimal vowel." In terms of U's and M's, this vowel will be represented by the matrix

Udiffuse
Ucompact
Ugrave
Uflat

UIC's will have to derive from this matrix the following matrix:

-diffuse
+compact
+grave
-flat

vowels and their associated matrices in terms of U's and M's (the feature grave is discussed immediately below TABLE I).

segment:	i	ü	u	y	e	ö	o	γ	a	ae
compact:	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	M
diffuse:	U	U	U	U	M	M	M	M	U	U
flat:	U	M	U	M	U	M	U	M	U	U

TABLE I

Consider now the feature grave. If a is Ugrave, then ae must be Mgrave. But what of the pair e and o? Is e to be marked for gravity and o unmarked? Or is it the other way around? These questions must, of course, be asked also for the other front-back pairs, and there seems to be no way of deciding for these pairs which member is to be marked for gravity and which member unmarked for gravity. Chomsky and Halle have suggested that for such pairs, neither member is to be marked or unmarked for gravity: these segments may be considered only in terms of +grave or -grave, never in terms of Ugrave or Mgrave.

If we accept this decision, the vowels given in TABLE I will now be represented as shown below in TABLE II:

segment:	i	ü	u	y	e	ö	o	γ	a	ae
compact:	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	M
diffuse:	U	U	U	U	M	M	M	M	U	U
grave:	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	U	M
flat:	U	M	U	M	U	M	U	M	U	U

TABLE II

The following ordered UIC's apply to matrices of the type given in TABLE II:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (\text{compact})_1 & & \\
 & [\text{Ucompact}] & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+compact] \\ [-compact] \end{array} \right. / \left[\begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{Ugrave}} \\ \text{Uflat} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

$$(\text{diffuse}) \quad [\text{Udiffuse}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [-\alpha\text{diffuse}] \quad / \quad \left[\overline{\alpha\text{compact}} \right]$$

$$(\text{grave}) \quad [\text{Ugrave}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [+grave] \quad / \quad \left[\overline{+compact} \right]$$

(flat) same as given earlier

In the examples given below, we show how these UIC's apply to the matrices for the vowels a, o, and ü:

a

Ucompact
Udiffuse
Ugrave
Uflat

↓
(compact)₁
↓

+compact
Udiffuse
Ugrave
Uflat

↓
(diffuse)
↓

+compact
-diffuse
Ugrave
Uflat

↓
(grave)
↓

+compact
-diffuse
+grave
Uflat

↓
(flat)
↓

+compact
-diffuse
+grave
-flat

o

Ucompact
Mdiffuse
+grave
Uflat

↓
(compact)₂
↓

-compact
Mdiffuse
+grave
Uflat

↓
(diffuse)
↓

-compact
-diffuse
+grave
Uflat

↓
(grave)
↓

-compact
-diffuse
+grave
Uflat

↓
(flat)
↓

-compact
-diffuse
+grave
+flat

ü

Ucompact
Udiffuse
-grave
Mflat

↓
(compact)₂
↓

-compact
Udiffuse
-grave
Mflat

↓
(diffuse)
↓

-compact
+diffuse
-grave
Mflat

↓
(grave)
↓

-compact
+diffuse
-grave
Mflat

↓
(flat)
↓

-compact
+diffuse
-grave
+flat

It is easy to work through the derivations of the remaining vowels and to see that application of the four UIC's to the matrices of the vowels in TABLE II will result in the matrices shown below in TABLE III:

segment:	i	ĩ	u	y	e	ø	o	γ	a	ae
compact:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
diffuse:	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
grave:	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
flat:	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

TABLE III

The UIC's must apply not only to lexical representations in terms of U's and M's (details, see Chomsky and Halle, op. cit.), but also to the output of phonological rules. Consider, for example, the following two phonological rules:

- (1) $\underline{e} \rightarrow \underline{o}$
 (2) $\underline{e} \rightarrow \underline{\gamma}$

Rule (1) is in a strong sense a more natural rule than rule (2); if \underline{e} is to be shifted back, one naturally expects a concomitant rounding to accompany the backward shift. In terms of +'s and -'s, however, rule (1) is less highly valued than rule (2) because it requires one more feature specification to the right of the arrow:³

- (1)' $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{compact} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{flat} \end{bmatrix}$
 (2)' $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{compact} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+grave]$

If we permit UIC (flat) to apply to the output of (1), however, we need not state the additional feature flat to the right of the arrow. After the application of every phonological rule, then, every UIC will apply, as if the feature in question were specified U. Rule (1) may now be written:

- (1)" $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{compact} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+grave]$

UIC (flat) will now apply to the output of rule (1)", automatically specifying the segment as +flat.

In order to permit the derivation of γ , we shall restrict phonological rules to have only one feature to the right of the arrow. If a rule is written with more than one feature to the right of the arrow, the additional features are to be interpreted as corrections to the UIC's. Rule (2) must now be written as follows:

- (2)" $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{compact} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{flat} \end{bmatrix}$

In the derivations given below, we contrast the application of rule (1)" and rule (2)" to the segment e:

segment:	e	<u>vs.</u>	segment:	e
(1)":	γ		(2)":	γ
(flat):	o		(flat):	o
correction:	<u>none</u>		correction:	γ
output:	o		output:	γ

By permitting the UIC's to apply to the output of phonological rules, we have now been able to formulate rules (1) and (2) in an intuitively correct manner; it is now rule (2)--as given in (2)"--which requires one extra feature specification to the right of the arrow. Permitting the UIC's to apply to the output of phonological rules thus permits us to evaluate rules in terms of their naturalness: the more a rule deviates from a natural phonological rule, the more "correction" specifications it will require to the right of the arrow.

Before turning to the phenomena of akan'e and ikan'e, one further condition must be placed on the applicability of UIC's to the output of phonological rules. We have required that every UIC apply to the output of phonological rules, and it is therefore necessary to check to see if any of the UIC's (compact), (diffuse), (grave) apply to the output of rule (2)".

UIC (compact)₁ will not apply to the output of rule (2) because the output will be specified $\begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ -flat \end{bmatrix}$ and the environment

condition of (compact)₁ requires that the segment in question be specified $\begin{bmatrix} Ugrave \\ Uflat \end{bmatrix}$. UIC (compact)₂ will apply, but vacuously

because the output of rule (2) is already specified -compact. UIC (diffuse) will apply and will incorrectly specify the output of rule (2) as +diffuse. If we apply rule (2)" to e and then permit every UIC to interpret the output of (2)", we will incorrectly derive a high vowel u instead of a mid vowel o. To avoid this difficulty, we place one further condition on the applicability of UIC's to the output of phonological rules:

Each phonological rule is considered to consist of a fundamental or basic part, one feature to the left of the arrow and one feature to the right of the arrow. After the application of the phonological rule, all UIC's except those interpreting the basic features of the rule apply. Thus, for example, in a phonological rule such as

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha X \\ \beta Y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\gamma Z]$$

the UIC's interpreting features X and Z will not apply; but all other UIC's including the UIC interpreting feature Y, will apply. In rule (2)"

$$\begin{bmatrix} -diffuse \\ -compact \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ -flat \end{bmatrix}$$

then, the UIC's (diffuse) and (grave) are not applicable; the UIC's (compact) and (flat) do apply, (compact) vacuously and (flat) functionally to specify the segment +flat. The -flat specification to the right of the arrow in (2)" will then "correct" the flatness specification to -flat.

#2. Rules for akan'e and ikan'e.

In this section, we restrict the discussion to the treatment of unstressed non-diffuse vowels not in position after š, ž; in #3 we discuss the treatment of vowels after non-sharp palatals.

We are concerned, then, with formulating rules which will realize all unstressed non-diffuse vowels as i after sharp consonants, as a in all other environments. Typical forms are given below:

- a: inf. тянуть [t'inút']; cf. 3 pl. тянут [t'ánut]
 nom. pl. часы [č'isý]; cf. nom. sg. час [č'ás]
 gen. sg. раба [rabá]; cf. nom. sg. раб [ráp]
- o: fem. past неsла [n'islá]; cf. masc. past неs [n'os]
 nom. sg. ноgа [nagá]; cf. acc. sg. ноgу [nogu]
- e: nom. pl. деlа [d'ilá]; cf. gen. pl. деl [d'él]
 nom. sg. чеrта [č'irtá]; cf. gen. pl. чеrт [č'ért]

[NB: e occurs only in position after a palatal or a sharp consonant]

The rules which account for akan'e and ikan'e are as follows:

- (A)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-stress} \\ \text{-diffuse} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{[-grave]} & / & \text{C'} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ \text{[+compact]} \end{cases}$$
- (B)

We consider in detail the derivation of phonetic [nagá] from underlying nogá. Rule (A) is inapplicable because the unstressed non-diffuse vowel is not in position after a sharp consonant (C'). Rule (B) applies to the first vowel in the word (i.e., the unstressed non-diffuse o) as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-diffuse} \\ \text{-compact} \\ \text{+grave} \\ \text{+flat} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{B} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-diffuse} \\ \text{+compact} \\ \text{+grave} \\ \text{+flat} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phonological effect of applying rule (B) to o is thus to derive a low, back, rounded vowel. All UIC's except those interpreting the features stress and compact will now apply. UIC (diffuse) applies vacuously because the segment in question is already specified -diffuse. UIC (grave) will also apply

vacuously because the segment in question is already specified +grave. UIC (flat) will apply, changing the specification of this feature to -flat. The total effect of rule (B) together with the UIC's is thus to derive a from unstressed o. Rule (B) and all relevant UIC's will apply vacuously to an unstressed a (to the first a in rabá, for example) leaving a phonetic [a] as required.

Now consider the derivation of inf. [t'inút'] from underlying t'anút'. Rule (A) will apply to the first vowel in this form (i.e., to the unstressed a), deriving the front low vowel ae:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-diffuse} \\ \text{+compact} \\ \text{+grave} \\ \text{-flat} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{A} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-diffuse} \\ \text{+compact} \\ \text{-grave} \\ \text{-flat} \end{bmatrix}$$

The UIC's (compact), (diffuse), and (flat) will now apply, in that order. (compact)₁ cannot apply because the segment in question is not specified Ugrave. (compact)₂ will therefore Uflat

apply, deriving a mid, front, unrounded e. (diffuse) will now apply, deriving a high, front, unrounded vowel i. (flat) will apply next, but vacuously, because the segment in question is already specified -flat. The total effect of rule (A) together with the UIC's is thus to derive i from unstressed a in position after a sharp consonant. Note that once rule (A) and the UIC's have applied to a, rule (B) is not applicable because the i derived from a is no longer -diffuse, and rule (B) applies only to -diffuse vowels.

It is easy to work through the derivations of other forms, and to check that rules (A) and (B), when taken in conjunction with the UIC's, will apply in such a manner as to derive correct phonetic representations in all forms.

#3. The rule for deriving y after š and ž.

It has long been known that phonetic y in Russian appears only after a non-sharp consonant and that when phonetic i appears after a consonant, that consonant is always sharp (cf., e.g., Baudouin de Courtenay, Об отношении русского письма к русскому языку, St. Petersburg, 1912). This fact accounts for the rather frequent alternations of i and y, alternations such as those observed in the nominative plurals of nouns (сто^{лы} [stal'ý] but руб^{ли} [rubl'f] etc.), in the present theme of second conjugation verbs (леж^{ит} [l'izýt] but шум^{ит} [šum'f] etc.). The following rule accounts for these i-y alternations:

$$(C) \begin{bmatrix} \text{-flat} \\ \text{+diffuse} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-}\alpha\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+sharp} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$$

If rule (C) applies after rules (A) and (B), we can account for the fact that unstressed non-diffuse vowels after sharp consonants are realized as i, after non-sharp š ž as y.⁴ In rule (A), we interpret C' as an abbreviation for any segment specified [+sharp] or +compact, i.e., as any sharp consonant -grave

or any palatal. The derivation of a form like nom. sg. жена [žyná] from žoná (cf. nom. pl. жены [žóny]), will be as follows:

underlying: žoná
 (A): ø
 (compact): vacuous
 (diffuse): ŭ
 (grave): inapplicable
 (flat): i
 (B): inapplicable
 (C): y
 (compact): vacuous
 (diffuse): vacuous
 (grave): inapplicable
 (flat): inapplicable
 output: žyná

As can be seen from the derivations we have given, rule (A) accounts for ikan'e and rule (B) accounts for akan'e; rule (C) serves merely to adjust the gravity of the non-flat, diffuse vowels y and i after consonants. Note that in rule (C), the basic features of the rule are flat and grave, not diffuse and grave. The reason for this is that we cannot permit UIC (flat) to apply to the output of (C) when (C) derives a grave vowel. Consider, for example, the second vowel in лeжит. This vowel, phonetically a grave, diffuse non-flat y is derived from an underlying non-grave i; that is to say, the underlying vowel of the present theme of second conjugation verbs is i, not y. If we had written rule (C) with diffuse as the basic feature:

(C) ' $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{flat} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\alpha\text{grave}] / [\alpha\text{sharp}] ______$

this rule would apply to l'ižít to derive l'ižýt; but UIC (flat) would then flatten the grave diffuse vowel, resulting in the incorrect phonetic representation *[l'ižút].

#4. Ekan'e.

As was shown in the example concerning the formulation of rule (C), great care must be taken in selecting the basic features of rules. In our formulation of rule (A), for example, we took care not to have diffuse as the basic feature to the left of the arrow because it was necessary to permit UIC (diffuse) to raise the vowel in question to i. If we rewrite rule (A) with diffuse as the basic feature to the left of the arrow, then the derivation will stop at the stage of the mid vowel e. The formulation

(A) ' $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{grave}] / \text{C}' ______,$

in other words, is the rule for ekan'e. Typical derivations are shown below:

	тянуть	несла	черта
underlying:	t'anut'	n'osla	č'erta
(A):	ae	ö	<u>inapplicable</u>
(compact) ₂ :	e	<u>vacuous</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>
(diffuse):	<u>inapplicable</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>
(grave):	<u>inapplicable</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>
(flat):	<u>inapplicable</u>	e	<u>inapplicable</u>
output:	t'enuť	n'esla	č'erta

#5. Conclusions.

Before attempting to evaluate the description of akan'e and ikan'e given above in ##2-3, it will be valuable to consider how these rules would have to be formulated within the terms of a theory which did not make use of markedness. In such a theoretical framework, the simplest (most general) description I have been able to formulate requires the following three rules:

- (1) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{compact} \\ -\text{flat} \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{compact} \\ +\text{diffuse} \end{bmatrix} / \text{c}' \underline{\quad} \end{cases}$
- (2) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{diffuse} \\ -\text{flat} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{sharp} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad}$

These three rules are ordered, and apply without reference to any universal conventions; they make the claim (1) that unstressed non-diffuse vowels are lowered to a or ae, (2) that any a or ae after a "soft" consonant is raised to y or i, and (3) that only i (never y) appears after a sharp consonant and only y (never i) appears after a non-sharp consonant. Typical derivations are as follows:

	часы	несла	жена	черта	нога
underlying:	č'asy	n'osla	žona	č'erta	noga
(1):	<u>vacuous</u>	a	a	ae	a
(2):	y	y	y	i	<u>inapplicable</u>
(3):	i	i	<u>vacuous</u>	<u>vacuous</u>	<u>inapplicable</u>
output:	č'isy	n'isla	žyna	č'irta	naga

Rule (3) has the same effect as rule (C). Rule (1) corresponds to rule (B) and rule (2) to rule (A); these rules (rules (1), (2), (A), (B)) are the rules which account for akan'e and ikan'e. Comparison of (1) with (B) shows that when we do not have UIC's at our disposal it is necessary to mention the irrelevant feature flat in writing the rule for akan'e. This is, of course, exactly what one would expect, since one of the reasons for introducing the notion of markedness was precisely to avoid the necessity of writing irrelevant features in rules. But the point I would like to emphasize is that the two rules for ikan'e--rules (2) and (A)--make totally different claims about the nature of ikan'e. Rule (2) claims that ikan'e consists solely of raising unstressed non-diffuse vowels after soft consonants; rule (A) claims that ikan'e consists solely of fronting unstressed non-diffuse vowels after soft consonants.

It is necessary, then, to look for some independent justification for deciding whether rule (2) or rule (A) is correct. It is necessary, that is to say, to look for some independent justification for deciding whether ikan'e is a process of raising or of fronting vowels. To decide this issue requires, at our present level of understanding of phonological processes, speculation regarding the correct features which should be used in phonological descriptions and regarding the types of rules which are most highly valued in phonological descriptions.

In reading classic works on the development of Russian from Proto-Slavic (works such as Jakobson's Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe, for example), one comes across the phrase "synharmonic syllable," by which is meant a syllable whose members have assimilated to each other in some fashion. Thus velars before front vowels shift to palatals, consonants before front vowels are sharpened, vowels are fronted after palatals, and so forth. But, we may ask, where in any of these processes is the assimilation? With the features now in use, it is not possible to say precisely that consonants agree with the following vowel in some intrinsically important way. It does, however, seem correct to say that consonants have assimilated some feature of the following vowel: before front vowels consonants are fronted (with a concomitant raising, i.e., are palatalized); before back vowels, consonants are backed (with attendant lowering, i.e., are labiovelarized). As Jakobson (op. cit., Chapter III) has so concisely formulated it, "les consonnes se sont adaptées, quant à la hauteur de leur son fondamental, au phonème suivant de la même syllabe." Similar remarks, of course, apply to the fronting ("palatalization," in this view, seems to be an appropriate term) of vowels in position after palatalized consonants.

Chomsky and Halle (op. cit.) have presented a very insightful account of the palatalization of velars before original front vowels in Slavic. I think their analysis should be extended to cover the palatalization of all consonants before front vowels; with the proper choice of features one should be able to formulate a single assimilation rule which will account both for the shift of p, t, s, l etc. to p', t', s', l' and for the shift of k to č' before front vowels.⁵ In this way the classic notion of assimilation as the cause of synharmonic syllables will be captured explicitly. The assimilation will, of course, be a front-back assimilation.

If we look later into the history of Russian, it is not hard to find other examples of phenomena which should be viewed as front-back assimilations. Thus, for example, the shift of front e to back o before non-sharp (i.e., non-fronted) consonants should be called a later manifestation of the Proto-Slavic assimilative tendency, the tendency to form synharmonic syllables.

The same thing is true not only of the rule for ikan'e, but also of the rule which adjusts the front-back position of i, y after consonants (rule (C)).

One finds typically in the physical actualization of utterances regressive and progressive assimilations--anticipation of the future position of the vocal apparatus and residue of the earlier position of the vocal apparatus. Thus, to mention a well-known example from English, velars are fronted both before and after front vowels (geese vs. goose, puke vs. peak etc.). Regressive assimilation is more common than progressive and seems to have greater effect (in my dialect of English, for example, the [k"] in keep is slightly more front than the [k'] in peak, although the [k'] in peak is slightly more front than the [k] of puke). In Russian, one finds the same effect (cf. the fronted [k"] in кинуть with the less fronted [k'] in ученик; the velar in ученик, however, is farther front than the velar in рыбак). Historically, we have evidence of a similar assimilation in the fronting of velars before ē from oi as in цена < kēna < koina and after i as in отец < ōtikos (cf. the still interesting discussion in Baudouin de Courtenay, "Einiges über Palatalisierung und Entpalatalisierung," Indogermanische Forschungen, 4 (1894), pp. 45-57).

Although our concern with explaining phonological phenomena has, in the last fifty or so years, been leading us to more and more abstract descriptions (see my brief discussion in "О циклических правилах," Вопросы языкознания, 2 (1965), p. 50), we must not be divorced from the physical realization of the abstract representations which we call "phonetic representations." If assimilation is a natural and favored process in the physical realization of utterances, it seems correct to say that a natural and favored way of writing abstract phonological rules is in terms of assimilation.

Returning now to the original discussion of ikan'e, it will be seen that the tentative formulation in (A) permits the possibility of viewing this process in terms of assimilation, for here again, as in the historically older processes mentioned above, we are dealing with a fronting of vowels after fronted (sharped and palatal) consonants. The formulation given in (2), on the other hand, does not leave open the possibility of viewing ikan'e as an assimilation process. The formulation of (A) fits well into the historical pattern of adjusting consonants and vowels toward a synharmonic syllable structure; but rule (2) is not in any way motivated beyond the goal of reaching the level of observational adequacy. In terms of an evaluation measure, for example, a rule which nasalized unstressed, non-diffuse vowels after soft consonants would be more highly valued than rule (2) because this rule would require only a single feature specification to the right of the arrow; but in terms of what we know about linguistic processes, such a nasalization rule would be entirely unexpected.

It seems reasonable to assume, then, that the formulation of phonological descriptions in terms of markedness will lead us to a more insightful understanding of phonology, that it will help us to understand better the nature of phonological rules, and that it will permit us to find at least some of the inadequacies in our earlier descriptions.

Notes

1. We use the symbol γ to represent a mid, back, unrounded vowel.
2. In this article we shall consider only the features flat, compact, diffuse, and grave, and moreover, we shall restrict the discussion solely to vowels. The UIC's for the other features of vowels and for features of consonants, liquids, and glides will not be relevant to our discussion of akan'e and ikan'e in ##2-3 below.
3. Every rule in this paper applies only to vowels; in order to simplify the job of reading the rules we shall omit the

+vocalic
-consonantal

 specifications which technically should be written in all these rules.
4. The description given here will result in phonetic representations of the old Moscow standard dialect, in which forms like шагать and жарá were pronounced [šyǵát'] and [žyrá]. In the contemporary standard, these forms are pronounced [šagát'] and [žará]. For some discussion, see Аванесов, Русское лит. произношение, Москва, 1954, pp. 39-40. This difference between the two dialects is easily accounted for by requiring that after a palatal, rule (A) apply only to mid vowels e o, and not to the low vowel a.
5. Interesting suggestions for revision of the phonological feature inventory have recently been made by James McCawley, "Le rôle d'un système de traits phonologiques dans une théorie du langage," Langages, 8, Dec. 1967, pp. 112-123.

PUŠKIN'S EVGENIJ ONEGIN
A STUDY IN LITERARY COUNTER-POINT

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Puškin's Novel in Verse, Evgenij Onegin, was written over the course of eight years (1823-1831). During this time, the author's concept of the plot and characters underwent many changes which considerably influenced the development of the poem's narrative structure. The changes are attested by extant original drafts and completed but excluded sections of poetry contained in volume six of Puškin's complete works published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1937. Such major plot elements as "The Duel" and "Onegin's Journey" were accepted or rejected by the author only after large sections of the poem had already been completed and published. Puškin had been working on the novel for several years before certain critical points of characterization in regard to both Onegin and Tat'jana achieved final form. The artistic integrity and unity of the completed work is all the more remarkable in view of this gradual development.

The plot of Evgenij Onegin is extremely simple. A girl falls in love with a young man who rejects her. After she has married another, the young man falls in love with her but she rejects him. On the basis of this narrative frame, Puškin created a poem which develops with the restrained and measured beauty of a classical symphony. The whole is filled with deep passions, suffering and emotional conflict but is constantly modulated by the objectivity of gentle irony and an essential counter-point of contrasting thematic elements.

Counter-point of contrasting thematic elements is the key to Puškin's narrative technique within his verse novel. It is most apparent in the two major dramatic episodes, Tat'jana and Onegin's confrontations in the Larins' garden and later in a Moscow drawing-room. Although the narrative reversal that Puškin achieved between these scenes is, in its own way, a unique literary tour-de-force, both episodes are convincing and impress the reader with their profound psychological truth. One easily accepts the speedy development of passion within the country-girl, Tat'jana, who has had no actual experience of erotic emotions but, on the contrary, has formed her heart and mind on romantic novels. Without having previously found an object worthy of her devotion, she had developed a firm belief in the sacred character of undying love. What more likely object might she choose than the handsome, sophisticated young man from Saint Petersburg who had a proper romantic "pallor" and suitable "disdain" for life's trivialities? Onegin becomes for her a type of deity to whom she can look up and to whom she can write with sincere fervor:

Хоть каплю жалости храня

Вы не оставите меня¹

The superficial impression she has formed of Onegin fits all the requirements for her ideal soul-mate as she also confesses:

Другой!... Нет, никому на свете

Не отдала бы сердца я!²

Onegin, on the other hand, would contradict his character if he could bring himself to accept this young girl's too readily offered love. In contrast to her lack of experience, he has had far too much. He has learned all the tricks of conquering female hearts, both simple and sophisticated. Love has become for him not an exalting, self-sacrificing emotion but a means of proving his own ability to overcome coquettish resistance and to satisfy selfish whims, a lethargic shuffle between two poles:

Желаньем медленно томим,

Томим и ветреным успехом.³

Desire and capricious success but over all - boredom.

Onegin in his disillusionment cannot see any difference between the love that Tat'jana offers so quickly and that which had sated him in Saint Petersburg. Fortunately for Tat'jana, he has tired of taking advantage of young girls. With his shallow experience in a certain kind of love, he warns her against other men, thinking that all men would see in her passion that which he might allow himself to see if he had not decided to abandon the pursuit:

Учитесь властвовать собою:

Не всякий вас, как я, поймет;

К беде неопытность ведет.⁴

Thus, in the first confrontation, Puškin has established the basic kernel of the plot. The reader will not see Onegin and Tat'jana alone together again until the very end of the novel. Without a multiplication of vindictive colloquies and with an almost total absence of standard *scènes-à-faire*, Puškin will draw his narrative to the point where the situation of the first confrontation is apparently completely reversed. The mastery of the achievement lies in the fact that both confrontation scenes are true to characterization and setting. The contradictory outcome of the two scenes is due to motivation arising from exactly the same personality complexes in each case. The irony is further enriched by the fact that Onegin rejects Tat'jana in her native environment, the country, while she will reject him in his, the urbane world of brilliant high society.

Puškin has posed for himself an intricate narrative problem. After portraying the development of an unhappy romance in the country, he undertakes to portray an unhappy romance in the city using the same characters with their narrative positions reversed. The Onegin of chapter one looks upon everything with condescension from the heights of a self-assured superiority. He disdains Lenskij's idealism no more or less than Tat'jana's romanticism. The Onegin of the second confrontation is abased and looks up to the object of his passion. He who formerly posed the riddle is to be baffled by the cold serenity of the country-girl-turned-princess. His ironic attitude has disappeared. Tat'jana, on the other hand, may now look down upon him from a valid position of greater moral integrity. Her love, which had been one of adulation for a superior being, has become a love tempered by suffering and mixed with pity.

A narrative fabric of counter-point justifies the major contrasts of the love plot. To begin with, Puškin introduces a second pair of lovers, Lenskij and Ol'ga. The love counter-

point is established on two levels - that of plot-action in the narrative parallels of the two affairs and that of character. Onegin's character stands out more clearly against the background of his friend, Lenskij, just as Tat'jana is seen more clearly by contrast with her sister, Ol'ga. The clarification of personality works in opposite directions for the two main characters. Onegin's poverty of soul is emphasized by Lenskij's enthusiasm while Tat'jana's depth of feeling is opposed to Ol'ga's lightmindedness. The contrast is subtly enhanced by its presentation in the country rather than in the city where the novel began. In Petersburg, Onegin's natural environment, his disenchantment seems almost a positive quality when opposed to the spiritual vacuity of the society around him. In the country, it becomes evident that the disenchantment stems from a deep interior emptiness rather than from any combination of external conditions.

As Puškin portrays the love of Lenskij and Ol'ga, he stresses the fact that Lenskij is the more ardent of the pair. Ol'ga is too superficial and flighty to experience a deep passion while Lenskij's inexperienced, idealistic heart can not know any other kind. Tat'jana and Onegin's love is a perfect balance and counter-point to this. Like Lenskij, Tat'jana is consumed by love and willing to abase herself completely to realize its fulfilment. Onegin, however, like Ol'ga, is incapable of a "Grand Passion." He is so thoroughly imbued with an artificial society's fear of showing the slightest enthusiasm that he pretends not even to have noticed which of the sisters is Tat'jana when he first sees them. The line, "Скажи, которая Татьяна?"⁵ is a gem of concise characterization. Onegin continues his pose of blasé nonchalance by taunting Lenskij that, as a poet, he should prefer Tat'jana who sits "sad and silent as Svetlana"⁶ to the prosaically pretty Ol'ga.

The contrast of the couples is built on a very complex counter-point. Lenskij-Onegin and Tat'jana-Ol'ga are character oppositions. Within the love scheme, however, Lenskij-Tat'jana and Onegin-Ol'ga are oppositions. The counter-balance of the two love affairs is the dynamic basis of the first half of the novel.

The unraveling of the essential narrative problem of reversal begins with Tat'jana's dream.⁷ In solving the problem, Puškin uses as his primary instrument the character of Onegin but his character as it is gradually discovered by Tat'jana. Until the dream, Tat'jana has seen in Onegin her Ideal and a superior being. The dream is the first hint of a darker, destructive side to the person of her Ideal. As a device, the dream operates on the subconscious level. Psychologically, it indicates that Tat'jana had previously apprehended some flaw in Onegin which she had repressed but which continued to haunt the deepest recesses of her mind. From the external narrative point of view, it prepares the reader for the unexpected presentation of Onegin as the murderer of his friend (the dream-Onegin stabs Lenskij with a knife). After the description of Onegin in the first two chapters, some objective element must forewarn the reader of the duel. If this element were presented on the conscious level of action before the duel, it would destroy the delicately balanced fabric of relations between the four protagonists. The revelation of Onegin's character through the subtle device within Tat'jana's subconscious is balanced and reinforced

by an element on the conscious level of recognition. When Tat'jana visits Onegin's house in the country, she undergoes an experience which relates within the novel's structural counter-point directly to the psychic experience of the dream. As Onegin's hidden potential for evil was revealed to Tat'jana by an intuitive perception, now the shallowness of his soul is revealed by the portrait of Byron, the bust of Napoleon and the particular passages in his books which most impressed him.

Везде Онегина душа

Себя невольно выражает⁸

After the duel, it is within the counter-point of these two revelations, the dream and the visit, that Puškin finds the narrative means of justifying Tat'jana's reversal in the final confrontation. She has come to understand her hero at last. Although she understands him, however, she does not stop loving:

И начинает понемногу

Моя Татьяна понимать

...

Того, по ком она вздыхать

Осуждена судьбою властной.⁹

Her heart has been given and, "condemned by fate," she cannot redeem her feelings. Nevertheless, she will never again look to Onegin with that self-abasement which marked their first meetings. The essential difference in the Tat'jana of chapter eight is not the rank and dignity of a princess. It is rather that change which has taken place in her love and understanding. Some have accused Puškin of neglecting the "objective correlative" for the superficial change in Tat'jana which is effected by her new position in life. The more important change in her, however, is well justified and the justification lies in the counter-point of the two revelation episodes.

The duel in chapter six is a central plot device from a mechanical point of view. It is a climactic motif which effects the transition from the rising development of the novel's first half to the rapid descent toward the denouement. As a mechanism of the plot structure, it eliminates Lenskij from the novel. Ol'ga is thereby free to meet and marry another man and also to be removed from view. The technical use of these two characters has achieved its purpose and they are no longer necessary for the further development of the novel. This technical consideration does not, of course, consider the broader artistic aims involved. Onegin's acceptance of the challenge through fear of society's censure is a means of throwing greater light on his character. His unhesitating readiness to shoot the poet also throws his character into broader relief while counter-balancing Tat'jana's dream image of him. The fact that Ol'ga marries another so quickly after the duel emphasizes the constancy of her sister who is true to her one love in spite of shattering revelations and his culpable involvement in the tragedy.

The primary value of the duel as a narrative device, however, is in its effect on Onegin. Mechanically, it forces him to leave the country. This provides the freedom necessary for Puškin to transport Tat'jana to Moscow where she marries and be-

comes a member of the beau monde. In regard to Onegin, personally, it is the crucial experience which drains him of his irony and superior attitude. He has murdered a friend because of the petty considerations of an artificial milieu which he had haughtily undertaken to despise. He comes to realize the import of his action only when it is clearly formulated in a word:

Убит!... Сим страшным восклицанием
Сражен, Онегин с содроганьем
Отходит...¹⁰

When he reappears in Moscow, he bears little external resemblance to the brash young scapegrace of Petersburg:

Но это кто в толпе избранной
Стоит безмолвный и туманный?¹¹

The duel, therefore, although it does not contribute directly to the love plot, is still one of the most important narrative devices within the structure of the novel. Just as the two revelations justify the Tat'jana of chapter eight, the duel justifies the changed Onegin.

By the time Puškin comes to the depiction of the second confrontation, he has already solved his basic narrative problem of reversal by this series of artistic contrasts and oppositions. His technique throughout the last chapter is particularly striking. All secondary characters have been removed. In the center of the action remain only two - Onegin and Tat'jana. The tone of the chapter is melancholy and restrained. The ebullience and humor of the earlier sections are completely missing. Tat'jana is an established luminary of society, a lady of quiet dignity and inner beauty. Onegin, on the contrary, is a stranger. As he becomes wildly enamored of the "new" Tat'jana, the basic counter-point is fulfilled. Onegin was indifferent but now loves; Tat'jana was overwhelmed by passion but now is calm enough to reject the man she still longs for. The question to be considered is whether Onegin and Tat'jana have really changed in their essential elements. Onegin had been indifferent to a retiring young girl in the country. He completely misunderstood her and was unable to appreciate her real beauty of soul. Now he loves - but he loves a princess who dictates to society, who is cold, superior and aloof. True to character, Onegin does not reflect that he has nothing to offer her but infamy and shame. Divorce, of course, was out of the question. With the same lack of concern about consequences with which he shot Lenskij, he now hopes to make Tat'jana party to a conventional "liaison." He still does not know or love her real self. The Onegin of the first chapter might have gone about this conquest of a haughty princess in just the same way. His feeling may now be stronger but his passion is not noble. It does not respect the honor and happiness of its object. Tat'jana, with the still intact simplicity of her romantic soul, fortified by a deep awareness of the true Onegin, refuses his love. To accept it would contradict all the truth of her character. She too is the same but now has more experience, understanding and perception. The surface reversal is achieved but stands in artistic tension with the inner reality which is based on a delicate consistency of characterization throughout. It is difficult to imagine a more

artistically satisfying solution of the narrative problem which Puškin had set for himself.

Footnotes

All references are to volume six of Пушкин: Полное собрание сочинений, АН СССР, 1937.

1. Tat'jana's letter, chapter three, p. 65.
2. Tat'jana's letter, p. 66.
3. Chapter four, stanza nine, p. 76.
4. Chapter four, stanza sixteen, p. 79.
5. Chapter three, stanza five, p. 53.
6. Chapter three, stanza five, p. 53.
7. Chapter five, stanzas eleven to twenty-one, pp. 101-106.
8. Chapter seven, stanza twenty-three, p. 148.
9. Chapter seven, stanza twenty-four, p. 149.
10. Chapter six, stanza thirty-five, p. 132.
11. Chapter eight, stanza seven, p. 168.

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In 1923 Antoine Meillet laid the foundations of Indo-European metrical studies with the publication of his famous book, *Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*. By a brilliant comparison of the Vedic and Aeolic traditions he was able to show that the relationships are too close to be accidental, wherefore they presuppose a common origin.

The Indo-European metrical system which Meillet reconstructed was characterized by (1) a fixed number of syllables in the verse line, (2) a fixed cadence, (3) free alternation of longs and shorts in the opening clausula, and (4) an obligatory caesura (p. 76).

Indo-European metre was thus established on the basis of two traditions. It was not until 1952 that a *tertium comparationis* was added when Professor Roman Jakobson demonstrated that various kinds of Slavic metres also belong to the Indo-European tradition.¹ Since then Calvert Watkins has shown that both Old Irish metre and the Celtic poetic tradition reflect an Indo-European inheritance.² More recently V. V. Ivanov has asserted that certain types of Hittite poetry are of Indo-European provenience.³

Since the Indo-European metric system is fairly widespread among the historical languages (including Anatolian, if Ivanov's analysis is correct), it should not be too surprising if traces of it are found in Lydian. Scholars of Lydian have always recognized the existence of poetic texts. This in itself was no major discovery, for the texts are rather obviously marked by assonance of the last vowel of every verse line and a seemingly constant number of syllables in each line.

In order to show that Lydian metre does in fact fit Meillet's requirement of a fixed number of syllables, certain conventions of determining Lydian syllabicity must be established. For simplicity we will follow the transcription and glosses recommended by R. Gusmani in his *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1964). At best, owing to the ambiguities of the language, one can only hope for a system that is internally consistent and coherent.

Let us first consider the metrical value of -aa- and -ā-. Nothing is known about the phonemic status of vowel length in Lydian. Certain words such as *mruvaad* 'stele' or *qiraad* 'property' are consistently written with -aa- in the poetic texts. Emil Vetter says these forms are lengthened metri causa.⁴ Nevertheless, since the double -aa- is consistently used in some words and never in others, one gets the impression that the long vowels have a real existence in these words and do not owe their length to metrical exigencies. Vetter also says that the double vowel always indicates a double syllable so that *mruvaad*, for example, would be trisyllabic. But this is not always true, as we will see later. Specifically, when a double -aa- occurs in the cadence it marks the beginning of the cadence with a simple long vowel (one syllable). Outside of the cadence and in verse final position the long vowel is broken up into two syllables. The motivation for this is simply that syllabic length is significant only in the cadence. The rest of the metrical line depends solely on syllable count.

The vowel that is transcribed \tilde{a} also represents a long syllable. Compare Lyd. vāna- 'grave chamber' = Luv. wanni- 'stone, stèle'. That Lydian distinguishes /a/ from / \tilde{a} / before /n/ compare Lyd. mane- = Phryg. Μᾶνης. Given that Lydian writes double -nn- only once, in the proper name nannaś which occurs in a bilingual Lydian-Greek inscription (no. 20): nannaś bakivalis artimuλ · Νάννας Διονυσίου κλέος Ἀρτέμιδι, it is obvious that Lyd. nannaś simply copies the spelling of Gk. Νάννας, and that otherwise the reflex of -ann- in Lydian is - \tilde{a} n- (simplification of the nasal consonant cluster with concomitant nasalization and compensatory lengthening of the vowel). Moreover, it will be noticed that Lydian equates -ann- and - \tilde{a} n-, e.g. Lyd. arta-bāna- = Iran. arta-bānu-. Therefore, we take / \tilde{a} / to represent a long nasal vowel. If one objects to the phonetic interpretation, at least it is reasonably certain that - \tilde{a} n- is metrically a 'heavy' syllable.

Otherwise quantity is almost impossible to determine. The usual Indo-European convention of regarding a vowel plus two or more consonants as constituting a heavy syllable will be observed. A vowel before a single consonant is normally short. As in Greek and Sanskrit, a vowel followed by a consonant plus a liquid may be regarded as long or short, depending on metrical requirements. All verse-final syllables are aneeps. For simplicity we will mark them long.

Concerning the value of λ , $\underline{\lambda}$; \underline{v} , \underline{n} ; \underline{r} ; \underline{m} , one can make the following remarks. Although we do not know the exact phonological position of the opposition between λ and $\underline{\lambda}$, \underline{v} and \underline{n} in Lydian, there are definite cases where λ and \underline{v} function syllabically, e.g. bλ 'to him' (also written buλ twice, dat.-loc. of bis 'he'), biλλ 'to his' (< *biliλ, dat.-loc. of the i-stem adjective bilis 'his'), qλ 'to whom' (dat.-loc. of qis 'who'). Similarly \underline{v} functions syllabically as in the acc. sg. civv 'god', qv 'whom'. In many instances the historical source of - \underline{v} is *-iv, as in ēm \underline{v} 'my' (acc. sg.), like ēmλ 'to my' (nom. ēmis). Therefore we need a phonetic rule that deletes /i/ before / λ / and / \underline{v} / in word final position.

However, there is a further problem. There are many instances when λ and \underline{v} are clearly not syllabic, as in biral 'to, in the house', klidaλ kofuλ-k 'on (his) land and water', qira(a)λ 'on the property', artimuλ 'to Artemis', artimuv (acc. sg.; nom. artimuś). Since λ , \underline{v} can be syllabic or non-syllabic, the question may well be raised what their proper value is. They are definitely different from /l/, /n/ because there are minimal pairs such as artimul 'of Artemis' : artimuλ 'to Artemis'. Since, as we have already seen, an /i/ is absorbed before these two resonants, there is a good chance that they are palatal. This is supported by words such as ala- 'other' = Lat. alius, Gk. ἄλλος, etc. (cf. Gusmani sllf.). Given that Lydian does not write geminate -λλ-, one can assume that medial -λ- counts as a double consonant and that ala-, for example, scans -~-. This seems to be true, however, only when the preceding vowel is /a/.

In counting syllables, then, let us adopt the following conventions: λ and \underline{v} are to be treated as syllabic when they follow a consonant in word final position and non-syllabic whenever they follow a vowel. When λ or \underline{v} occur between a consonant and a vowel, syllabicity depends on morpheme boundary, e.g. klidaλ 'to the land', mλola 'part' kaiflads (meaning obscure) (two syllables each), sitarflaōś (meaning obscure) (three syllables each).

bles), but fakmλit, three syllables, because the word is segmentable: fak 'and, then', -m- (connecting particle), -λ-, 'to him' (< *iλ, dat.-loc. of is 'he', cf. fak-m-is 'then he'), it (emphatic particle). We know that -mλ- is a syllable by itself for two reasons. First, there is a vowel there historically, viz. *-m-iλ; second, fak-mλ occurs alone, which most certainly represents two syllables. Therefore it is not unnatural when a particle is added to fakmλ for the syllable -mλ- to retain its syllabicity.

On the other hand final /l/ and /n/ are non-syllabic. Words such as atrokl (meaning unknown) and katofn 'Inscription, Urkunde, Verordnung' will be scanned with two syllables each because every line in the text where these two words occur ends in -oC(C)## with assonance of /o/ in the last syllable. This pattern would be violated if atrokl and katofn were trisyllabic, for the structure would then be -oCR## and the final syllable would contain no /o/. Therefore one is obliged on purely formal grounds to assume a structure -oCC## for atrokl and katofn (cf. Vetter, op. cit., p. 47).

This is further substantiated by the practice of writing l, n when the Lydians themselves have consciously syncopated a vowel metri causa. This is more than an idle assumption. From the point of view of the Lydian language there is no phonetic rule (historical or synchronic) that will permit a contraction of ētversš 'evil-doing (?)' plus in (emphatic particle) to ētversn (24.14) which must have two syllables according to the principle established above. We know that ētversn stands for ētversš-in (three syllables) because of the parallel text 23.11 which reads ētversš-k-in 'and indeed evil-doing (?)'. The only possible explanation of ētversn is therefore conscious syncopation. Hence there is a distinction between postconsonantal /λ/, /v/ (syllabic) and postconsonantal /l/, /n/ (non-syllabic). The Lydians wrote λ, v when they intended palatal /l'/, /n'/ and/or syllabic /l'/, /n'/, and l, n for non-palatal, non-syllabic /l/, /n/.⁵

No such distinction exists for /m/ and /r/ which have no orthographic counterparts to represent palatality or syllabicity. Probably /m/ and /r/ were never palatalized, but they do function syllabically and non-syllabically. They are non-syllabic except when they occur between two consonants or in final position, e.g. aštrkoš (trisyllabic) 'Patron, Schutzherr (?)', caqrlaλ (three syllables) 'holy (?)' (dat.-loc. sg.), srmlis (two syllables) 'of the temple' (adj. in -li-, nom. sg.), karared-k-m-š (four syllables: karared, vb. 3 sg., meaning unknown, -k- 'and', -m- particle, -š- 'he'). The syllabic value of interconsonantal /r/ and /m/ is assured by occasional writings such as ašturkoš (44.12) for aštrkoš, both of which occur in the same formulaic 'slot' - verse-final position - in two different poetic texts, or ak-um (10.12) for ak-m (14.6). The occasional use of /u/ before syllabic /r/ and /m/ has its parallel in forms such as buλ for bλ, etc. The /u/ is not metrically significant; ur is another way of writing /R/ (cf. the Avestan use of ərə for /r/), so that ašturkoš, like aštrkoš, will scan - ~ -.

More principles of syllabication can be adduced but these are sufficient for the texts we will be dealing with. Let us now take a look at a typical poetic text (no. 11). Interlinear glosses are supplied where meanings are known or contextually probable. An x under a vowel marks the syllable except in the cadence where a scansion is provided.

- 1 est mruvaad saristrośλ śfarvad aśtrkoλ
 x x xx x x x x - ~ - ~ -
 this stele to Saristroś (is) dedicated, the patron deity
- 2 vānraś vicv areλ karared-kmś iskoś
 x x x x x x x x - ~ - -
 ? I built ? ? all
- 3 aviś qidad savv vratuλ arśtānsrś kasnod
 x x x x x x x x - - - -
 ? ? ? ? ? ?
- 4 kśbλtaλ-kś atrgolλ tafaaλ fabaλkol
 x x x x x x x - ~ - -
 ? ? ? ?
- 5 avkav ōtamv uved-maś varedtaλ śfatoś
 x x x x x x x x ~ - - ~ -
 legal document writes ? owner (?)
- 6 kot-aś cat qed-k-τ-ad cfiśad isaaλal umvod
 x x x x x x x x ~ - ~ - -
 as he dedicates quod...id ? ? ?
- 7 saristrośλ srkastuś katovalis śuloś
 x x x x x x x x ~ - ~ -
 for S. S. of K. the son (daughter?)
- 8 datrośis qaλmλad qis labtānal atrokλ
 x x x x xx x x - ~ - -
 priest(ess) temple (?) who built ?
- 9 śfardak artimuλ dāv caqrlaλ aśtrkoλ
 x x x x x x x x ~ - ~ -
 and of Sardis for Artemis I gave holy patroness
- 10 fakiτ est inal adalλ aksaakmλ iskod
 x x x x x x x x - ~ - -
 so this made ? and ? to him everything (gave?)
- 11 vānrakt esvav ifrol qis fakorfid katofn
 x x x x x x x x ~ - - ~ -
 ? to them ? he who defiles the inscription
- 12 buk mruvaaλ fakmλataλ viśśis vaarś nid kantrod
 x x xx x xx x x x - - - -
 or the stele, to him good ? not shall-befall

Looking at the cadence, the first thing that strikes us immediately is that in five of the six even-numbered lines the fourth from the last syllable is overtly marked with a long vowel: (4) tafaaλ fabaλkol (~ | - ~ - -), (6) isaaλal umvod

(\sim | - \sim - -), (8) labtānal atrok1 (- | - \sim - -), (10) aksaakm1 iskod (- | - \sim - -), (12) vaarś nid kantrod (- - - -). The cadence in each of these lines (except the last) is epitrititic. This pattern is also obeyed in line 2 where the fourth-from-final heavy syllable is marked by a double consonant: karared-kmś iskoś (\sim \sim | - \sim - -). The epitrititic (trochaic) cadence is therefore perfectly regular in even-numbered lines. We have already mentioned that all final syllables are anceps.

In odd-numbered lines the cadence is iambic (\sim - \sim \sim): (1) šfarvad aštrko1 (- | \sim - \sim -), (5) varedta1 šfatoś (\sim | - - \sim -), (7) katovalis šuloś (\sim \sim | \sim - \sim -), (9) caqrla1 aštrko1 (\sim \sim | \sim - \sim -), (11) fakorfid katofn (\sim | - - \sim -). Lines 5 and 11 have a dochmiac close (\sim | - - \sim -) instead of the usual strictly iambic cadence. In lines 3 and 12 a substitution of four longs for the expected cadences has been made. This, as we will see later, is a common substitution in Lydian poetry.

It is clear that these lines demonstrate a fixed cadence and that the alternation of strong and weak time is regular. The notion of a cadence in Lydian poetry seems to have been curiously overlooked by scholars in the past. Also, the functional identity of a vowel plus double consonant and a long vowel (written double) in the fourth from the last syllable has not been recognized by Vetter who simply says that -aa- counts as two syllables (*ibid.*, p. 48).

Another striking feature is that, while the cadence proper begins with the fourth or third from the last syllable, the only obligatory break in the line precedes the fifth from the last syllable: (1) šfarvad aštrko1, (3) arśtānsrś kasnod, (4) tafaa1 faba1kol, (5) varedta1 šfatoś, (6) isaalal umvod, (8) labtānal atrok1, (10) aksaakm1 iskod, (11) fakorfid katofn. Notice that the expected place of the caesura is also an argument in favor of reading -aa- as one syllable in the cadence. The normal position of the caesura is violated only four times: (2) kararedkmś iskoś, (7) katovalis šuloś, (9) caqrla1 aštrko1, and (12) viśśis vaarś nid kantrod. In each of these four lines the caesura precedes the sixth rather than the usual fifth from the last syllable. The pattern is therefore caesura 'adjoining' (to use Jakobson's formula) the sixth syllable from the end of the verse line. This is reminiscent of the Avestan twelve syllable line in which the caesura may be said to adjoin the sixth-from-last syllable although, as in Lydian, there is a predilection for the hephthemimeral (in Lydian, Bucolic) caesura. Compare the following verses:

Gathic: iθā ī haiθyā narō | aθā jēnayō
drūjō hacā rāθəmō yēmō | spašuθā frāidīm (Yasna 53.6.1-2)⁶

Y. Av.: təm yazata yō daθvāō | ahurō mazdāō
airyēnē vaējahi | vaṇhuyāō dāityayāō (Yašt 15.2)⁷

Likewise in the Vedic jagatī stanza (the third commonest type in the Rig Veda) there is normally a (secondary) pause preceding the fifth from the last syllable, e.g. -

anānudō || vṛṣabhō | dódhato vadhō
gambhīrá ṛṣvō || ásam | aṣṭakāviaḥ (2.21.4)

The usual cadence for the Avestan dodecasyllable is $\bar{\sim} - \sim \bar{\sim}$ (partial fixation of the fourth from the last syllable, but of none before that). In the Rig Veda even the fifth from the last syllable is fixed, the formula being $- \sim - \sim \bar{\sim}$, as in the verse cited above. We may assume for the Indo-European twelve syllable line a basic iambic cadence beginning in the fourth-from-final syllable, with a tendency toward a long in the fifth and an occasional variant admitting a long in the fourth. The opening line of our Lydian text has a perfect cadence:

est mruvaad saristrośλ | śfarvad aśtrkoλ
 x x xx x x x x - ~ - ~ -

The common Lydian variations such as (8) $\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{v}$ $\bar{c}a\bar{g}r\bar{l}a\lambda$ $a\bar{s}trko\lambda$ ($- || \bar{\sim} \sim | \bar{\sim} - \sim -$) and (11) $\bar{g}is$ $\bar{f}akor\bar{f}id$ $\bar{k}atofn$ ($- || \sim | - - \sim -$) are typical of those found in the Avesta. With the first type one can compare the $- \sim | \sim - \sim -$ cadence typical of a twelve syllable line in Alcaus, e.g. -

ἦλθεες ἐκ περάτων γὰς ἐλεφαντίναν

λάβαν τὸ ξίφος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων (Lobel - Page 350)

Notice that the second of the common variations, beginning at the caesura, is a perfect dochmiac line, type ἀηδῶν βίον (Aesch., Ag. 1145) or beginning after the caesura as in Lydian: ποῖ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι- $\sim - \sim - | \sim - - \sim -$ (Aesch., Prom. Vinct. 576).⁸

We have already noted that the iambic cadence alternates with a trochaic cadence in Lydian. In Indo-European the trochaic cadence is characteristic of the eleven syllable line. For example, the Vedic $\bar{t}ri\bar{s}tubh$ (commonest metre in the Rig Veda) has a hendecasyllabic line with trochaic cadence, e.g. -

prá nūtanā | maghavan | yā cakārtha (5.31.6 b)
 ~ - ~ - | ~ ~ - | - ~ - ~

ó śú varta | maruto | vípram áccha (1.165.14 c)
 - ~ - ~ | ~ ~ - | - ~ - ~

Likewise in Greek lyric poetry several common types of hendecasyllables have a trochaic cadence:

Alcman 59 (a) 1 Ἔρωε με δηῦτε κύπριδος φέκατι
 (Page)

Sapphic strophe: φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἔσος θεοῖσιν
 (Sappho) ἔμμεν ὦνῆρ ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι
 ἰσθάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδυ φωνέλ-
 σας ὑπακούει (LP 31)

Glyconic-bacchiac: θρυσκα καὶ μελίλωτος ἀνθεμῶδης (LP 96.15)
 (Sappho)

For the most part Greek has generalized the eleven syllable line with either the trochaic or the iambic cadence, as in the Alcaic strophe. Serbo-Croatian has a tendency toward the trochaic cadence although it has generalized the twelve syllable line (see Jakobson, *op. cit.*, p. 428f.). Slavic probably inherited a hendecasyllable with trochaic close and a dodecasyllable with iambic close, contaminated the two, and generalized the

twelve syllable line and the trochaic cadence.

Now, Lydian has no eleven syllable line. It has instead a twelve and a thirteen syllable line. In the verse cited above, lines 1, 3, 5, and 7 have thirteen syllables and the rest (except the last) have twelve. The fourteen syllables of the last line simply mark the close of the verse. For a typological parallel compare the Spenserian Stanza. Leaving aside the last line, we notice that the trochaic close is characteristic of the twelve syllable (even-numbered) lines while the iambic cadence generally accompanies the thirteen syllable (odd-numbered) lines. This pattern breaks down only in line 9 which has twelve syllables and an iambic cadence. Nevertheless, the general pattern is clear. The Lydian dodecasyllable has a trochaic close and the thirteen syllable line an iambic cadence.

There is perfect isomorphism between the Indo-European hendecasyllable with trochaic close and the Lydian dodecasyllable with trochaic close on the one hand, and the Indo-European dodecasyllable with iambic close and the Lydian thirteen syllable line with iambic close on the other.

That two inherited verse lines can each be incremented by one syllable in a dialect area has a parallel in North Russia where the inherited twelve and eight syllable lines (attested in Serbo-Croatian) have thirteen and nine syllables respectively (Jakobson, *ibid.*, p. 430f.).

Just as the North Russian thirteen syllable line allows variations of twelve syllables, so the less carefully composed Lydian poetic texts occasionally substitute hendecasyllables for dodecasyllables, e.g. -

12.4 cinaλ qis qiraλ fēṭvintat tuṭrloλ
x x x x x x - - ∪ -

13.9 akad vratoś aśēmλ votlλ taṛbraδ
x x x x x x x - ∪ - -

Text no. 13 has more substitutions than any of the other poetic texts. The syllable count of lines 2 and 3 is difficult to ascertain, given the ambiguity of verse final (2) v̄staaś (one or two syllables?), (3) qiraad (two or three syllables?). Making this allowance, the syllable count of lines 1 - 9 is: 14, 12 (13?), 12 (13?), 12, 11, 10, 12, 12, 11. Lines 10 - 13 are missing the beginning of the line so that no syllable count is ascertainable. Text no. 12 appears to be arranged in triads with a basic syllable-count pattern of 12 - 13 - 12. But hendecasyllables are freely substituted for dodecasyllables in this text, so that the actual syllable count is: 11 - 13 - 11, 11 - 13 - 12, 11 - 14 - 12.

There can be no doubt that Lydian metre is a syllable-count metre. The number of syllables in a given verse line is never less than ten nor more than fourteen. Typically, a poetic text contains one fourteen syllable line which, as we remarked above, serves as a 'frame'. There is only one ten syllable line in the corpus of Lydian poetic texts: 13.6 nikraś bitat uḷrin koṛriś taṛblaś. Therefore, the Lydian poetic line contains either thirteen or twelve syllables with an optional variant of eleven syllables. The more carefully prepared texts contain fewer substitutions. For example, text no. 11 has none at all.

Now, how does one recognize a 'carefully prepared' text (aside from the consistent syllable count and cadence)? We have

chosen text no. 11 as a model typical of the best poetry in Lydian tradition. This is supported epigraphically:

The letters ... have two peculiarities unique in Lydian epigraphy so far as known: their slender shafts have a cross-section not v-shaped but semi-circular, and broaden at the tips into apices about twice as wide as the body of the shaft. To these features as much as to its evenness is due the elegance of the lettering. The marble is whiter and of finer grain and has a more highly finished surface than that of any other stele in our collection.⁹

There can be no doubt that this stele is of the finest quality in Lydian tradition. It can scarcely be an accident that the best prepared marble stele and the best prepared poetic composition in the Lydian corpus coincide, for it is a religious text, carefully prepared by an educated temple priest(ess), involving the dedication of a monument to Saristroś and Artemis.

In recapitulation, Lydian metre depends on syllable count. There is a twelve syllable line and a thirteen syllable line which go back to the Indo-European hendecasyllable and dodecasyllable respectively.

Every poetic line in the Lydian corpus (with the exception of text no. 13 which is highly irregular in many ways) has a fixed and consistent cadence. Only the ends of the lines remain of text no. 14 so that a syllable count cannot be established, but one can see that the cadence is just like that of no. 11: 14.1 ...factot ([- ~] - -), (2) ...-lak taśok ([~] - ~ -), (3) ...-taarak arktoλ (- ~ - -), (4) ...śakoś ([~ -] ~ -), (5) ... [allarmly ētolt (~ | - ~ - -), (6) ...ciralaδ iskod (~ | - ~ - -), (7) ...mrslaš sitarfλoś (- | - ~ - -), (8) ...sarala taktod (~ | - ~ - -), (9) ...giraλ ēnvatoλk (~ | ~ - ~ -), (10) ...kaṛflads qλ śatrot (- | - ~ - -). A clear alternation of cadences is observable here. In text no. 12, on the other hand, there is no alternation of cadences. Out of ten lines all but 2 and 3 have a dochmiac (- - ~ -) close. In 2 and 3 four longs have been substituted for the expected cadence, as in 11.3, 12.

Every one of Meillet's requirements for an Indo-European metric system are met by Lydian:

<u>Lydian</u>	<u>Indo-European</u>
1. Fixed syllable count and cadence	1. Fixed syllable count and cadence
a. thirteen syllables (iambic close)	a. twelve syllables (iambic close)
b. twelve syllables (trochaic close)	b. eleven syllables (trochaic close)
2. Free opening clausula	2. Free opening clausula
3. Obligatory caesura before fifth from last syllable (true of 12 and 13 syllable line)	3. Obligatory caesura [before fifth from last syllable (true of 12 syllable line only)]

Regarding the minor discrepancy in the position of the caesura, it must only be remarked that Lydian simply disposed of the early caesura characteristic of the Indo-European hendecasyllable, having done away with the Indo-European hendecasyllable itself. This may be regarded as an innovation on the part of Lydian. Two further innovations are vowel assonance in verse-final position and the use of the twelve and thirteen syllable line in stanzaic alternation. The latter is not so clearly an innovation. The stanzaic alternation of two lines accompanied by an alternation of cadences has an interesting parallel in Alcman's *Partheneion*, cf. ll. 36-43 (ed. Page):

ἔστι τις θιῶν τίσις.	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)
ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)
ἄκλαυτος · ἐγὼν δ' αἰείδω	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς · ὁρῶ	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)
Ἔτ' ἄλιον ὄνπερ ἄμιν	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
Ἀγιδὼ μαρτύρεται	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)
φαίνην · ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῇν	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)

There is a clear alternation of seven and eight syllable lines and of iambic and trochaic cadences. The idea of a Lydian influence¹⁰ is ruled out by the independent tradition in Sophocles, cf. *Oed. Tyr.* 885-6 (Raven, *ibid.* §131):

Δίκας ἀφόβητος οὐδὲ	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
δαιμόνων ἔδη σέβων	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)

Lydian influence is doubtful anyway because of the discrepancy both in the number of syllables per line and in the association of the iambic close with the shorter line and the trochaic with the longer. This is precisely the reverse of the Lydian situation which, however, does have parallels in Sophocles:

Trach. 134-5 (Raven §43)

Βέβακε, τῷ δ' ἐπέρχεται	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)

Oed. Col. 1722-3

λήγετε τοῦδ' ἄχους·κακῶν	- - - - -	(8 sylls.)
γὰρ δυσάλωτος οὐδεὶς	- - - - -	(7 sylls.)

Oed. Col. 1671-2

οὐ τὸ μέν, ἄλλο δὲ μή, πατρὸς ἔμφυτον	- - - - -	(12 sylls.)
ἄλαστον ἄιμα δυσμόροιν στενάζειν	- - - - -	(11 sylls.)

From the point of view of syllable count, cadence, and position of the caesura, this last couplet is isomorphic in every way to our Lydian verse 11.1-2:

est mruvaad saristrošλ šfarvad aštrkoλ
x x xx x x x x || - √ - √ - (13)

vāntaš vicv areλ kaṭared-kmš iskoš
x x x x x x || √ √ | - √ - - (12)

Latvian and Lithuanian folk songs, which normally have verse lines of eight (commonest type), ten, eleven or twelve syllables, also have this alternation, e.g.—

Latvian:¹¹ Es moza meitiņa, maņ loba laimeņa (12)
Aug maņi jēreņi, aug kozuļeņi, (11)
Ir munai vīstēnai divpadsmit cuoleišu (12)
Divi devu kungam, divi vonogam. (11)
Vēl maņi pošai ostoņi palyka. (11)

'I am a small girl, I have good fortune.
My little lambs are growing, my little kids
are growing,
My little hen has twelve chickens;
Two I gave to the baron, two to the hawk,
And I still have eight left over.'

Lith.:¹² Kur bėga Šešūpė, kur Nėmunas tėka (12)
Tai mūsų tėvynė, graži Lietuvà (11)
Čia brėliai artėjai lietūviškai šnėka (12)
Čia skaamba po káimus Birūtės dainà (11)
Tėgul bėga mūsų ūpės į mariàs giliáusias! (14)
Tėgul skaamba mūsų daĩnos pė šalīs plačiáusias! (14)

'Where the Šešūpė flows, where the Nėmunas runs,
That is our fatherland, beautiful Lithuania.
Here brother plowmen speak Lithuanian,
Here echoes the song of Birūtė through the
villages.
Let our rivers flow into the deepest seas,
Let our songs echo across the broadest lands.'

Notice how the fourteen syllable lines serve to mark the close of the Lithuanian stanza. This is typologically parallel to the Lydian situation.

Whether this sort of alternation represents an inherited situation or an independent development in all three traditions must remain an open question. One can only reason, as did Meillet, that the parallelism is too perfect and complete to be totally accidental.

Lydian has another kind of poetic text, heretofore unrecognized. The reason these texts have not been recognized is simply that on the surface they do not appear to be poetic. There is no vowel assonance and interpolations have obscured the syllable count. The texts in question are numbers 23 and 24. They are parallel texts and by comparing the two versions it is possible to remove the interpolations and establish a 'normalized' text. Leaving out the irrelevant parts of both texts, let us now take a look at the parallel sections:

23.5 ... ānṛēt mitridastaś mitratalis (6) kaveś ... (9) akmlis
 24.1 ānṛēt mitridastaś mitra[talis] (2) kaveś ... (7) akmlis
 qis citollad bitad (10) fakmlitin qldānk artimuk
 qis citollad bitaad ... (12) fakmlit artimuś ibśimsis
 katsarlokid (11) buλ bilλk arlyllλ qyraλ
 (13) katsarlokid bλ bilλk arlilλ (14) qiraλ artimulkin
 ētverškin (12) sarokak esvav civav nikumēk (13) savēnt nik
 ētversn (15) sarokak nikumēk savēnt nik (16)
 bis nik bilis arlyllis (14) qysk amukit qyd faśfēnu
 bis nik bil sfēnis ... (18) ... akit amu nāqid (19) faśfēnu
 akat (15) ... kantoru.
 ... (20) ... akat ... (21) ... kantoru.

The opening line of our parallel text is part of a proclamation formula. This becomes clear from a comparison of 24.1f. and 24.17f.:

24.1 ānṛēt mitridastaś mitratalis (2) kaveś nak amu katosv
 faov
 24.17 ānṛēt nak amu mitridastaś (18) katosv faov

Factoring out what is common to both passages, we are left with a formula ānṛēt nak amu katosv faov '(he, someone) commands and I make public the order'. The formula has ten syllables and is constructed so that names can be freely inserted. Note the poetic position of the verb (ānṛēt) at the beginning of the sentence. Moreover, it is probably not chance that the name, patronymic, and epithet (mitridastaś mitratalis kaveś 'Mitridastaś, son of Mitrataś, a priest') also constitute ten syllables and that text line 1 (ānṛēt mitridastaś mitratalis) and 2 (kaveś nak amu katosv faov) have ten syllables each.

The second line of the parallel text is identical in both versions. Making use of the metrical resolution bitaad (three syllables) recommended by 24.7, it will be noticed that the line akmlis qis citollad bitaad has ten syllables.

The third line contains several interpolations: fakmlit(in) (qldānk) artimuś(k) (ibśimsis) katsarlokid 'then may (both Qldāns and) Artemis (of Ephesus) annihilate him'. The deity Qldāns occurs nowhere in 24 so that it is clearly an interpolation in 23. The reason for the interpolation is that at some later point in Lydian history (after the composition of these formulas) Qldāns came to be closely associated with Artemis, cf. 4b: eś vānaś manelis alulis akmlt qis fēnslibid fakmlt qldāns artymuk vcbagēnt 'this is the grave-chamber of Maneś, son of Aluś; if anyone damages it, Qldāns and Artemis shall bring him to ruin'.

Regarding the epithet ibśimsis in 24, the following remark can be made. In 23 there is an introduction before the main text, whereas 24 opens with the text itself beginning ānṛēt mitridastaś.... Now, in this introduction appears the formula

23.4 artimuk ibšimsis katsarlokid. Therefore, the insertion of ibšimsis in 24.12 was motivated by an earlier line that was present in the tradition but not repeated in 24. The addition of the particle in to fakmlit in 23.10 is a simple case of double emphasis: in and it are both emphatic particles whose respective functions are not entirely clear. Factoring out once again what is common to both texts, we are left with a line fakmlit artimuš katsarlokid with exactly ten syllables.

Following the same procedure in the next line, it is possible to extract a ten-syllable verse bl bilak arlil giral etversn 'doing damage (?) to him and his own land'. Going on, we notice that esvav civav 'to these gods' is clearly an interpolation in 23.12, leaving an octosyllabic line sarokak nikumēk savēnt 'and saroka- (word of unknown meaning) shall never prosper...'.
 Reconstructing the next line poses many difficulties. To begin with, the expression nik bilis arlyllis gysk in 23.13f. is completely obscure. The variant nik bis nik bil sfēnis 'neither he nor his property' in 24.15f. is a very old legal formula, cf. 42.5 bulk bilk sfēnav 'both on him and on his possessions'. It is old because the original 'short-form' genitive bil occurs only in this expression. Elsewhere it has been replaced by the i-stem adjective bil-i-s. Otherwise, there are only three other instances of a short-form genitive in Lydian. One is valvel 'of Valve-' (if the reading is correct) found on some electrum coins from Ephesus, among the oldest known, dating back to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century (see Gusmani, p. 17). Another is artimul in the religious formula sivralmis artimul 'Priester(kollegium) der Artimuš' (22.9, 11, 12). Aside from this formula the genitive of artimuš is always a form of the i-stem adjective artimulis. The only other genitive of this type occurs on an inscription from Magnesia on the Sipylus (54. 1): es anlola atraštāl šakardal 'this is the grave-stele of Atraštaš, son of Šakardas'. The inscription cannot be dated. The short-form genitive is here a dialect preservation.

Given that bilis arlyllis in 23.13 is motivated by the formula bul bilak arlyll giral in 23.11, and that bilis is a replacement of the obsolete form bil, it is clear that 24 has the proper reading because it is entirely unmotivated (lectio difficilior): nik bis nik bil sfēnis. This is supported by the formula bil-k sfēnav to which bil sfēnis is directly parallel, and by the corruption gysk in 23.14 which is completely obscure. If it means 'anything', as has been suggested, and the line is to be translated 'neither he nor anything [that is] his own', one wonders why the form is gys-k of common gender rather than neuter gy(d)-k. There are other problems, but this is sufficient to establish our case that 24 is the correct version.

At this point there is an obvious interpolation in 24 which is completely absent from 23. After sfēnis the text continues: serlik srmlis (17) ānrēt nak amu mitridastaš katosv faov 'and the authority of the temple commands and I make public the dictum for Mitridastaš'. After this interpolation the text goes on: akit amu nāqid (19) fašfēnu nak aarav nak birak (20) [n]ak dētn ēmv akat amu mitridas[taš] (21) [ka]vel kantoru 'and whatever I own - my yard ('Hof'), house, and personal property - that I entrust to Mitridastaš the priest'. The idea in 23 is similar but less verbose: amukit gyd fašfēnu akat (15) bavafu selak kantoru 'and what(ever) I own, that I entrust to the shrine and (its) authority'. Factoring out what is common to both ver-

sions we are left with a formula akit amu nāqid (or amukit qid) fašfēnu akat kantoru 'and as for me, whatever I own, that I give up'. The first part of the formula varies but the second half is constant. We expect the second half to be constant because it represents the end of the verse. The reason for the discrepancy in the first half becomes clear when we consider that the text lines on stele no. 23 have been consciously arranged to make ten syllables of each:

- 23.12 sarokak esvav civav nikumēk
 x x x x x x x x x
 13 savēnt nik bis nik bilis arlyllis
 x x x x x x x x x
 14 qysk amukit qyd fašfēnu akat
 x x x x x x x x x

This is not true of 24, cf. (17) ānēt nak amu mitridastaś (nine syllables), (18) katosv faov akit amu nāqid (eleven syllables). Therefore it is clear that 23 has been tampered with and that nāqid in 24 must be preferred to its variant qyd in 23. This yields a formula nāqid fašfēnu akat kantoru 'whatever I own, that I give up', a line of exactly ten syllables. Picking up the residue, we see that the previous line nik bis nik bil sfēnis plus the introduction to the last formulaic line, akit amu, constitute ten syllables: nik bis nik bil sfēnis akit amu 'neither he nor his property, and as for me...'.
 Our reconstructed text therefore looks like this:

- 1 ānēt [(1-a) mitridastaś mitratalis
 x x x x x x | - - -
 kaveś] nak amu katosv faov
 x x x x x x | - - -
 2 ak-mλ-is qis citollad bitaad
 x x x x x x | - - -
 3 fak-mλ-it artimuś katsarlokid
 x x x x x x | - - -
 4 bλ bilλk arlillλ qiralλ ētversn
 x x x x x x | - - -
 5 sarokak nikumēk savēnt
 x x x x x x | - - -
 6 nik bis nik bil sfēnis akit amu
 x x x x x x | - - -
 7 nāqid fašfēnu akat kantoru
 x x x x x x | - - -

Not only does every line have ten syllables but there is also a fixed cadence – the same alternating iambic-trochaic cadence that we have seen in the other poetic texts. Lines 1, 3, 5, 7 have an iambic close with the usual possibility of a dochmiac variant. Lines 1-a, 2, 4, 6 have a trochaic pattern with a rather unusual variant in 6 unless amu scans - x, but that is impossible to decide since Lydian does not write -mu- and Hittite

ammuk is ambiguous. We thus have the possibility of a paroemiac close in 4 and 6, but owing to the impossibility of determining the quantity of the /i/ in qira and the /m/ in amu it is better not to speculate but rather to regard them as indetermined. If they are paroemiacs we have here an extreme archaism because the paroemiac close, according to Jakobson, is the one most closely associated with the Indo-European ten syllable line, with which our Lydian decasyllable is readily identifiable. Compare the following traditions:

- Sappho: πλήρης μὲν φαίνεται ἡ σελάννα.
αἰ δ' ὥς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν (LP 154)
θυρωρῶ πόδες ἐπτορέγυιοι (Jakobson, p. 460)
- Serbo-Croatian: Pâ jòš-da-ti višē jāde kâžēm (ibid., p. 418)
- Lithuanian: Aš girdėjau, kū motūā kalba (ibid., p. 463)
- Latvian: Glābies, pādīte, ar linu ziedu:
Kad iešu tautās, tad segšu sagšu
(Latv. Taut. Dz. 1823)
- Rig Veda: rāsi kṣāyaṁ || rāsi mitrām asmē
rāsi śārdha || indra mārutaṁ nah
..... (2.11.14)¹³

The Indo-European decasyllable is therefore preserved unaltered in Lydian. It is doubtless the fact that Indo-European had two entirely different metres, a decasyllable on the one hand and a hen-, do-decasyllable alternating with an octosyllable on the other, that enabled Lydian to preserve one intact but to increment the longer by one syllable, perhaps by polarization from the decasyllable. They were two distinct metres in Indo-European and so they are in Lydian. The decasyllable is used for legal matters and the longer line for dedications, rituals, curses, etc.

Into the decasyllabic text has been interjected an octosyllable sarokak nikumēk savēnt, a perfect eight syllable glyconic, type Sappho αἰ δὲ μῆ, ἀλλὰ σ' ἔγω φέλω. (LP 94.9).

This is perhaps the most notable innovation on the part of Lydian. In Indo-European the eleven and twelve syllable lines alternate with an octosyllable; the decasyllable alternates with nothing. Lydian has taken these four metrical lengths and redistributed them such that the decasyllable alternates with the octosyllable in stanzaic form and the two longer lines alternate with each other in stichic form, just like the hepta- and octosyllables in Alcman. Having redistributed the two shorter and the two longer lines, Lydian proceeded to lengthen the two longer by one syllable each. Another reason why the shorter lines remained untouched is that the legal subject matter written in them represents a more archaic and formulaic type of language than that of the usual dedicatory and curse inscriptions which were freely composed by any layman. The archaic character of the texts also accounts for the lack of vowel assonance typical of later poetry.

The Lydian decasyllable owes its preservation to the many legal formulas that were composed in that metre at a very early stage and which continued in use long after the inherited eleven

and twelve syllable lines had been lengthened. To change the ten syllable line would have meant changing legal formulas.

There can be little doubt that Lydian metre is of Indo-European provenience. The fixed cadence and the position of the caesura are identical in both traditions. The inherited verse lines of eight, ten, eleven, and twelve syllables all have their counterpart in Lydian. The fact that these are the only existing metrical lengths in Lydian and the only lengths that can be reconstructed for Indo-European from other comparative evidence supports our claim that Lydian metre represents a direct continuation of the Indo-European tradition.

Notes

1. "Slavic Epic Verse," Selected Writings 4.414-63 (The Hague, 1966), reprinted from Oxford Slavonic Papers III (1952).
2. "Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse," Celtica 6.194-249 (Dublin, 1963).
3. Общеиндоевропейская Праславянская и Анатолийская Языковые Системы 16f. (Москва, 1965). Compare also his recent paper "Заметки по сравнительно-исторической индоевропейской поэтике," To Honor Roman Jakobson 2.977-88 (The Hague, 1967).
4. "Zu den lydischen Inschriften," Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 232:3.48 (Wien, 1959).
5. For this and what follows, cf. most recently (with literature) В.В. Шеворошкин, Лидийский Язык 21ff. (Москва, 1967).
6. See H. Humbach, Die Gathas des Zarathustra 1.159 and commentary (Heidelberg, 1959).
7. See K.F. Geldner, Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, pp. vii, 118f. (Tübingen, 1877).
8. D.S. Raven, Greek Metre (London, 1962), §§92, 94.
9. W.H. Buckler, Sardis 6.23 (Leyden, 1924).
10. On the probable Lydian provenience of Alcman, see D.L. Page, Alcman, The Partheneion (Oxford, 1951), p. 167ff.
11. A. Švābe, K. Straubergs, E. Hauzenberga-Šturma, eds., Latviešu Tautas Dziesmas I.2142(1) (Copenhagen, 1952). The song is from Tīlža, region of Abrene, in the Latgalian dialect.
12. 'Taūtiška dainā' 1-6, in A. Senn, Hdb. der litauischen Sprache II.66f. (Heidelberg, 1957).
13. E.V. Arnold, Vedic Metre §§50, 226 (Cambridge, 1905). In §53 Arnold remarks that the decasyllabic metres 'belong to the distinctively early parts of the Rigveda' and are not found in the Atharvaveda or later literature.

DERIVED IMPERFECTIVES FROM PERFECTIVE
i-VERBS IN RUSSIAN¹

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0.0 i-verbs have the "thematic vowel" *i* in the forms of the present and non-present tenses, e.g. говорить, говоришь. The vast majority of i-verbs are imperfective. They form perfective verbs by the addition of a prefix. A perfective i-verb forms a derived imperfective (DI) verb by means of a derivational suffix, either -ivaj- or -aj-.

1.0 In 1876, Ja. Grot first proposed that the 3rd person plural and the infinitive be selected as "basic forms" of each Russian verb. His teaching remained more or less unchallenged until 1948, when R. Jakobson, following Bloomfield's concept of an "artificial underlying form," (219) set up a single stem for each Russian verb. Jakobson astutely observed that the relationship of the "present" and "non-present" stems was consistent enough to posit a single stem from which all other necessary information could be derived.

1.1 With a 2-stem system--present and non-present--the stress pattern of a verb was derived by comparing the respective stress positions of the two stems. In Jakobson's treatment, stress pattern was indicated for each stem.

For graphic reasons, the present paper utilizes different stress symbols than Jakobson used in 1948, but the binary principle underlying fixed vs. mobile stress patterns is preserved. An acute stress marker " ´ " indicates fixed stress and may occur on the root vowel or on the theme vowel of a stem: znákomí- or govorí-.² A supralinear × indicates a mobile pattern in the present, namely stress on the ending in the 1st Sg. and imperative and on the root vowel in other forms of the present tense:

proší- : прошу́, проси́, проби́шь

2.0 This paper presents an account of the distribution of the derivational suffixes -aj- and -ivaj- (cyrillic infinitives in -ать, -ять, -ывать, -ивать) as utilized by prefixed perfective (PP) i-verbs. -aj- is always stressed, and -ivaj- has stress on the vowel preceding it. The account is based on a sample of the existing i-verbs (cf. Bräuer's statistics [Kiparsky: 316]) but it includes all i-verbs with derived imperfectives which occur in Bielfeldt (see 2.1) except verbs which occur only reflexively.

Investigators agree (Šaxmatov, Obnorskij, Vinogradov, Academy Grammar) that -ivaj- is highly productive today whereas -aj- is less productive. Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) contains a number of DI's in -aj- which date back to a time when -aj- was more productive as well as many DI's in -ivaj- which are more recent. For instance, the relatively late perfectivizing prefix o-bez- forms a DI exclusively with -ivaj- (ex.: обездо́бить → обездо́бливать). Because "older" in Russian is related to a time of greater influence of the Church language, the derivational suffix -aj- is often identified "with words borrowed from Church Slavonic" (Šaxmatov: 163). Similarly, Greč (quoted by Vinogradov: 509) states that if a prefixed perfective (PP) verb is abstract or high style, then it will form a DI in -aj-:

Если значение предложного глагола остается перво-
начальное, простое, физическое, то окончание бывает

полное, например; выбеливать, загащиваться, обгораживать, переполнивать, обрушивать, вытверживать, выламывать; если же значение одного переходит в смысл отвлеченный, умственный, возвышенный, то окончание усекается, например: убелять, угощать, ограждать, переломать, исполнять, разрушать, утверждать.

2.1 It is assumed here that imperfective derivation is morphological, and that there should be enough information in the paradigm (and therefore in the stem) of the PP i-verbs to enable a student to predict which DI suffix a given verb takes. Yet no investigator has been able to elicit any criteria which will account for 90% of the DI's from i-verbs. In an effort to find a solution to this problem, the present analysis poses the following question: Is there a connection between the paradigmatic stress pattern of an i-verb and the choice of DI suffix?

2.2 For the present analysis, the existence or non-existence of a DI was determined by its presence or absence in the Academy Dictionary (1957-1961). Only in cases of doubt were later sources consulted. (Velký-česko-ruský slovník, 1952-1964, and Словарь современного русского литературного языка, 1950-1965.) The actual corpus of the analysis, however, was taken from Bielfeldt and relevant forms were then checked in the Academy Dictionary.

3.0 Most investigators do not treat in detail the question of which i-verbs form DI's with which suffixes, although they do discuss such things as the change of root o to a before the -ivaj- suffix (e.g. накопить → накапливать). Vinogradov (506) mentions that in verbs "where the prefix has lost its semantic valence and is almost never separated from the stem," the PP i-verb forms a DI in -aj-: вырубить → вырубать; поразить → поражать, but this criterion does not lend itself well to formal analysis.

The most satisfactory treatment of the distribution of -ivaj- and -aj- is found in Šaxmatov's concise study (163), where he includes stress patterns in his analysis:

Производную основу на -ja находим при основе на -и по общему правилу, однако, только тогда, когда в основе настоящего времени ударение падает на это и... также еще и там, где ударение в наст. времени колеблется, но где в инфинитиве оно падает на и.

Šaxmatov then states that regardless of stress, i-verbs borrowed from Church Slavonic form DI's with -aj-, and that all other DI's are formed with -ivaj-. Our findings agree with this as concerns end-stressed and stem-stressed verbs, but differ as concerns i-verbs with mobile stress.

3.1 Method of Classification.

If a PP i-verb occurs with more than one prefix, the verb is represented by the non-prefixed stem: -loŋi-. Otherwise, the single prefix with which it occurs is given: u-ŋilostŋi-yi-. With PP verbs where one prefix takes -aj- but another with the same root takes -ivaj-, the stem is not included in the figures for predictable derivation, but is treated under the heading "further comment." (Ex. so-pro-voŋi → so-pro-voždáj- but vi-pro-voŋi → vi-pro-váživaj-)

If a PP verb stem forms alternate DI's with both -aj- and -ivaj-, it is treated under the heading "DI doublets" (ex.: na-travj- → na-tráv|ivaj-; na-trav|áj-).

3.2 Altogether 629 i-verb stems were analyzed. Verbs occurring with one or more prefixes were counted only once. The PP i-verbs were classified according to their stress pattern: Fixed Stem, Fixed Ending, or Mobile.

Three groups of verbs, however, stand apart from this classification:

(Group A) Verbs with Church Slavonic phonologic alternations must be accounted for separately in any description of CSR. All verbs marked CS form DI's in -aj- regardless of stress pattern, but the vast majority have fixed end stress. The following alternations indicate a CS verb:

1. stem final d and zd mutate to žd in the ppp and DI (19 verbs)
2. stem final t mutates to šč in the 1st Sg., ppp and DI (24 verbs)

(In addition, certain prefixes such as voz/vos, pre, blago, etc. indicate a CS verb.)

Non-CS verbs in CSR also undergo mutations in forming the DI: the following stem final consonants regularly mutate: d → ž; t → č; st → šč; s → š; z → ž; b → bl; p → pl; m → ml; v → vl; f → fl. Before the -ivaj- suffix unstressed root grapheme o → a but stressed o → a only optionally.

(Group Sub-A) If the root of a PP i-verb contains the sequence -oCo-, it forms a DI in -ivaj-. This accounts for 9 end-stressed stems not otherwise accounted for by stress rules.

If the root of a PP i-verb contains the sequence -(C)CRÁC-³ it forms a DI in -aj-. (8 stems)

Although historically, -oCo- is identified as a Russian root formation vs. CS -(C)CRÁC-, it is incorrect to mark such a root CS (regardless of stress pattern) since, for example, -platj- does not have CS phonological alternation, and forms a DI in -ivaj-.

(Group B) Simplex perfective verbs take -aj- (13 verbs).

With some of these verbs, the stem final consonant becomes hard in the DI: bróši- → brośáj-; kupj- → po-kupáj-; stupj- → stupáj-; xvatj- → xvatáj-.⁴

When prefixed, bróši- and xvatj- form a DI with -ivaj-, but with a stem-final hard consonant.

(Group C) PP i-verbs whose stem-final consonant is jod take -ivaj-, regardless of stress (15 verbs).

Verbs from these groups will be given in the appropriate sections.

4.0 Analysis of PP i-verbs with Fixed End Stress (278 stems)

Twenty-four end-stress stems are CS verbs (Group A) and therefore take -aj-:

-beđj-; -građj-; -gromozđj-; -slađj-; -svobođj-; -xlađj-; ot-čuđj-; po-vređj-; (but of course o-bez-vrédi- → o-bez-vréživaj-); učređj-; u-gođj-; -upređj-; o-bogaťj-; -preťj-;

-syaťí-; -kraťí-; u-kroťí-; ^{VOŽ-}muťí-; vo-ploťí-;
o-ťagotí-; po-seťí-; pr^O-sveťí-; za-ščiťí-; o-ščuťí-;
-vraťí-.

Nine verbs are -oCo- verbs and form a DI with -ivaj- (Group Sub-A):

-borotí-; -govotí-; -koroťí-; -moloťí-; -poroší-; -storoží-;
-voroží-; -voroší-; -xoloťí-.

There are two exceptions:

o-zdoroyí- has o-zdorovláj-
za-poloťí- has za-polonáj-

(One "oCo" root forms DI doublets in -aj- and -ivaj-: -noroyí-.)

Five stems are simplex perfectives (Group B) and therefore take -aj-:

liší-; pleťí-; reší-; voťí-; snabďí-.

Six stems have root final jod- and therefore take -ivaj-:

-dvojí-; -gnojí-; -krojí-; -plojí-; -pojí-; -slojí-.

There were 278 end-stressed stems in the corpus. Besides the 46 verbs mentioned above, 191 i-verbs form a DI in -áj-. This accounts for 237 or 85% of the end-stressed i-verbs. Of the remaining 41 verbs, 6 form doublets, 11 require further comment, and 24 are exceptions.

4.1 -aj- and -ivaj- doublets (6 stems)

o-dolží- → o-dolžáj-; o-dálživaj-⁵
but raz-o-dolží- → raz-o-dolžáj-
u-lešťí- → u-leščáj-; u-léščivaj-
but substandard ob-lešťí- → ob-leščáj- only
pri-noroyí- → pri-norovláj-; pri-norávlivaj-
o-pilí- → o-piláj-; o-pílivaj-. All other
prefixes form DI in -ivaj-.
za-pruďí- → za-pružáj-; za-prúživaj-
but pere-pruďí- → pere-prúživaj- only
u-snašťí- → u-snaščáj-; u-snáščivaj-
but ras-snašťí- → ras-snáščivaj- only
o-snašťí- → o-snaščáj- only

4.2 Further Comment (11 stems)

ob-duťí- has substandard ob-dúřivaj-
za-gaťí- → za-gáčivaj- but na-gaťí- has alternate stress
na-gáťi- from which na-gáčivaj- would be regular (see 5.0)
-kľíňí- has alternate stress -kľíňi- from which -kľíňivaj-
would be regular. v-kľíňí- has -ivaj-/-aj- doublets.
v-krapí- has alternate stress v-krápi- plus two DI:
v-krapláj-; v-kráplivaj-

so-pro-vođí- } (CS) → -pro-voždáj-
 pre-pro-vođí- }
 but stem stressed ví-pro-vođi- → vi-pro-váživaj-
 ras-terebí- (substandard) → raz-terébļivaj-
 pod-tverđí- (CS) → pod-tverždáj-
 u-tverđí- (CS) → u-tverždáj-
 but za-tverđí- → za-tvérživaj-
 na-truđí- has alternate stress na-truđí, from which
 na-trúživaj- would be regular,
 but ^{pere-}_{u-}truđí- (CS) → {-truždáj-
 ví-tuři- has stressed prefix ví- → vi-túřivaj-, vs.
 other prefixes which have -áj.
 -vostří- → -vástřivaj-
 but -ostrí- → -ostráj-

4.3 Exceptions (24 stems take -ivaj-)

s-boltí-; ras-cvetí-; s-kostí-; pere-plotí-; pod-trupí-;
 -burí-; -dolbí-; -duří-; -graní-; -koptí-; -luščí-; -morí-;
 -mostí-; -rastí-; -ruří-; -šipí-; -slastí-; -sledí-; -slupí-;
 -ščebeńí-; -tormozí-; -vintí-; -voščí-.

5.0 Analysis of stem-stressed i-verbs (257 stems)

Two stems are CS verbs (Group A) and take -áj-:

-xíťí-, -síťí-

Eight stems which have a root of the form -(C)CRÁC- form DI's in -áj-:

voz-gláyi-; -pláyi-; -práyi-; -sláyi-; -stáyi-; tráfi-;
 u-vláži-; -zdráyi-. (Group Sub-A)

We note that u-kráši- also has a DI in -aj- but that other prefixes with this root take -ivaj- (e.g. pri-kráši- → pri-krášivaj-).

The single exception to this (C)CRÁCi- rule is gláđi- which takes -ivaj-: -gláživaj-.

Three stems are simplex perfective (Group B) and take -áj-:

-brógi-; kónči-; vstréti-.⁶

Seven stems have root final jod (Group C) and take -ivaj-:

-dráji-; -kléji-; -pokóji-; -stóji-; -svóji-; -stróji-;
 -tróji-.

This accounts for twenty-two stems. In addition, 200 stem-stressed PP i-verbs take -ivaj-. This means that of the 257 stem-stressed i-verbs, 87% can be accounted for. Of the remaining thirty-five verbs, six stems have DI doublets, six require further comment, and twenty-three are exceptions.

5.1 Stem-stressed i-verbs with -ivaj-, -áj- doublets (6 stems)

o-fórmi- → o-fórmlivaj-; o-formláj-

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{iz-} \\ \text{pod-} \\ \text{pri-} \\ \text{u-} \\ \text{za-} \end{array} \right\} \text{-gotóyi-} \rightarrow \{-\text{gotáv} \downarrow \text{livaj-; -gotov} \downarrow \text{áj-}$$

but $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{na-} \\ \text{s-} \end{smallmatrix}$ }-gotóyi- → {-gotáv↓livaj- only

o-poróžni- has alternate stress o-porožní- and two DI's:
o-porážnivaj-; o-porožnáj-

při-sposóbi- → při-sposáblivaj-; při-sposobláj-
obo-sóbi- → obo-sáblivaj-; obo-sobláj-

o-smísli- → o-smíslivaj-; o-smisláj-,
but all other -mísli- stems → -mišláj-

u-zakóni- → u-zakónivaj-; u-zakonáj-

5.2 Further Comment (6 stems)

při-ne-vóli- → při-ne-vólivaj- but other -voľi- verbs
take -voľáj- (e.g. so-iz-vóli- → so-iz-voľáj-)

za-médli- → za-medľáj-
but other prefixes take -médlivaj-

ob-rámi- has alternate stress pattern ob-ramí- from which
ob-ramľáj- would be regular

na-rúši- → na-rušáj-

raz-rúši- → raz-rušáj-
but ob-rúši- → ob-rúšivaj- (ob-rušáj- is archaic)

za-tépli- → za-téplivaj- (za-tepláj- is archaic)

o-znakómi- → o-znakomľáj-

but $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{pere-} \\ \text{raz-} \end{smallmatrix}$ }-znakómi- → $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{pere-} \\ \text{raz-} \end{smallmatrix}$ {-znakámľivaj-

5.3 Exceptions (23 stems take -aj-)

pro-dólži-; u-lúčši-; u-mlílosti-yi-; u-ničtóži-; u-podóbi-;
o-póšli-; za-ríbi-; za-řífi-; u-xúdši-; -báyi-; -blíži-;
-čísli-; -číšti-; -méři-; -mnóži-; -níži-; -pólňi-; -šíři-;
-tráfi-; -védomi-; -véři-; -véti-; -znáči-.

6.0 Analysis of PP i-stems with mobile stress (94 stems)

Four stems are CS verbs (Group A) and take -aj-:

-núđi-

po-buđí- (or po-buđř- with semantic distinction)

pro-buđí-

voz-buđí-

pri- o- ras- ob- }	-suđĩ-	(but	ot- pro- vi- za- }	take -ivaj- e.g. → ot-súživaj-) ⁷
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po-gloťĩ- → po-gloščáj-
but pro-gloťĩ- → pro-glátivaj-

Six stems have roots containing oCo and therefore take -ivaj-:

-gorođĩ-; -koloťĩ-; -moloťĩ-; -toropĩ-; -voroťĩ-; -xoroňĩ-.
(Group Sub-A)

Six stems are simplex perfectives (Group A) and take -áj-:

jayĩ-; kupĩ-; prošĩ-; pustĩ-; stupĩ-; xvaťĩ-.

Two stems have root final jod (Group C) and take -ivaj-:

-dojĩ-; -tajĩ-.

Of the remaining 76 PP i-verbs, 48 form DI's in -ivaj-, thus making a total of 66 i-verbs with mobile stress whose DI can be accounted for (of which the majority take -ivaj-). Of the remaining twenty-eight verbs, five form DI doublets, fourteen require special comment and nine are exceptions, hence take -áj-.

6.1 i-verbs with mobile stress which have doublet DI's (5 stems)

u-moľĩ- → u-máľivaj-; u-moľáj-
but ví-moľĩ- → vi-máľivaj- only
-dayĩ- → -dávľivaj-; -davľáj-
-loyĩ- → -lávľivaj-; -lovľáj-
-stanoyĩ- → -stanávľivaj-; -stanovľáj-
-trayĩ- → -trávľivaj-; -travľáj-

6.2 Special comment (14 stems)

za-gašĩ- has archaic za-gašáj- only,
but po-gašĩ- → po-gašáj-
-gružĩ- has alternate stress -gruží- from which
-gružáj- would be regular

na- } -kopĩ- → {-káplivaj-; -kopľáj-
s- }

but pri-kopĩ- → pri-káplivaj- only

pre-lomĩ- (CS) → pre-lomľáj-
but other PP -lomĩ- verbs → -lámivaj-

po-lučĩ- → po-lučáj-
but all other -luči- stems have end stress
e.g. s-lučĩ- → s-lučáj-

ob-lupĩ- → ob-lúplivaj-
but ot-lupĩ- → ot-lupľáj-

ob-men^ěī- → ob-ménivaj-
 pod-men^ěī- → pod-ménivaj-; pod-menáj-

za-
 iz-
 ot-
 pri-
 c-
 } -men^ěī- → {-menáj-

-rađī- has alternate stress -rađí- (with semantic difference). Both stress patterns have DI -ražáj-

o-sađī- has alternate stress o-sađí- (CS) → o-sažďáj-;
 o-sáživaj-

na-sađī- (CS) has doublets

do-sađī- → do-sáživaj-

do-sađí- (CS) → do-sažďáj-

na-stuđī- → na-stúživaj- (na-stužáj- is substandard)

pere-
 but pro-
 vi-
 za-
 } -stuđī- → {-stúživaj- only

o-sušī- → o-sušáj-

do-
 but na-
 ob-
 za-
 } -sušī- → {-súživaj-

-topī- → -topláj-; -tápživaj- (with semantic difference)

For -tvoři- stems with fixed end stress DI in -áj- is regular, but those with mobile stress:

o-
 pri-
 za-
 } -tvoři- → {-tvořáj-

po-
 vi-
 } -xvaļī- → {-xvālivaj-; -xvaļáj-

but vos-xvaļī- (CS) → vos-xvaļáj- only

6.3 Exceptions (9 stems take -aj-)

iz-guḃī-; ob-lepī-; raz-luḃī-; za-roṇī-; u-tušī-; -cepī-;
 -ručī-; -ščepī-; -tupī-.

7.0 Summary of the analysis

Verbs marked CS, and simplex perfective i-verbs form a DI with -áj-. PP i-verbs in root final jod form a DI in -ivaj-. As a general rule, end-stressed i-verbs form a DI in -aj-, unless the root contains the sequence oCo or the PP is obez. As a general rule, all other PP i-verbs form a DI with -ivaj-, unless the root has the form (C)CRÁC. Stems with mobile stress present a particularly unclear picture.⁸ (See 8.0) The distribution of -áj- and -ivaj- in CSR indicates that the stress pattern of PP i-verbs is a meaningful formal dimension in imperfective derivational morphology.

8.0 Bulaxovskij (213) noted the tendency of end-stressed i-verbs to acquire mobile stress patterns early in the nineteenth century. Kiparsky (316) even indicates that this tendency was productive as early as the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Avilova (279) indicates that for the early eighteenth century, -aj- was productive for PP i-verbs, even for those with clearly non-CS roots such as выпорош^ити--выпорош^ати:

Основным, по многочисленности соотносительных пар для Словаря 1731 г. следует считать соотношение префиксальных глаголов с суффиксом -и- в совершенном виде с префиксальными глаголами с суффиксом -а- в несовершенном виде. Эта группа глаголов тоже четко делится на глаголы разговорные, с типично русской основой и на глаголы отвлеченные, высокого книжного стиля, зачастую с церковнославянской основой.

-ivaj- is a Russian (i.e. non-CS) derivational suffix. At one time both -ivaj- and -aj- may have been equally productive, for there are numerous instances of DI doublets in the older language. For instance, Sreznevskij gives such derivational doublets as:

замысл^ити → замышля^ити; замыслива^ити

посуд^ити → посужати; посуживати, etc.

As the stylistic parallels between CS and Russian lexical items became more highly codified, perhaps derivational suffixes became identified with a certain stress pattern and thus -aj- became associated with the end-stress pattern. It would be incorrect, however, to identify all CS verbs with the end-stress pattern. For example, of two verbs in Russian with CS phonological alternation one points to an old mobile pattern: denominative suđ^и- (Kiparsky, 311) whereas the other points to an old end-stress pattern: causative sađ^и- (Kiparsky, 310). Both verbs have various DI's in -aj- and -ivaj-, probably reflecting different dialect layerings. On the other hand, many iteratives (type nođ^и-) and Ca verbs (type iskā^и-) with old mobile stress might have served as the model for the -ivaj- suffix.

The stock of end-stressed i-verbs has steadily decreased in the literary language. Pirogova (102) indicates that the North Gt. Russian dialects preserve a large class of end-stressed desubstantial i-verbs, while in the Moscow dialects these verbs mostly have a mobile pattern and in the South Gt. Russian dialects, a mobile pattern exclusively. She goes on to state:

Подвижный тип ударения в глаголах на -ить оказывается в высшей степени продуктивным. Современный литературный язык нормировал подвижное ударение для большинства глаголов, в которых наблюдались колебания.

The situation in CSR seems to point to the identification of -áj- with end-stressed desubstantivals as seen in the modern formations заземл^ить--заземл^ать; разграф^ить--разграф^ать. (Contrast намагн^итить--намагн^ачивать). On the other hand, the tendency away from end-stressed i-verbs attested within Russian dialects and within the literary language itself⁹ (vos-xva^иli- (CS) → vos-xva^аláj- but po-xva^иl^и- → po-xva^аláj- or po-xva^иl^иivaj-) is paralleled by the high productivity of the -ivaj- suffix.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Mr. Stephan Soudakoff for reading over the manuscript. Several of his suggestions have been incorporated without further acknowledgement.
2. "palatalization" is marked by a small hook under a paired consonant.
3. C = Consonant, R = r or l, á = stressed a.
4. A hard consonant in the derived -aj- stem occurs with several other verbs as well:
 -gloťǵ- → -glátivaj-; -kaťǵ- → -kátivaj-; -kušǵ- → -kúsivaj-; -lomǵ- → -lámivaj-; -nzǵ- → -nzáj-; -pustǵ- → -puskáj-; -skočǵ- → -skáǵivaj-; -šibǵ- → -šibáj-; -tašči- → -taskáj-.
5. Most -ivaj-, -aj- doublets do not alternate freely in all contexts. Often the -ivaj- DI carries a semantic shading of iterativeness or intensity.
6. Although historically vstréti- is prefixed, some scholars treat it as a simplex perfective, as is done here. (Cf. Vinogradov, 505)
7. ssuđǵ- (from ssuda) → ssužáj-.
8. For teaching purposes, there are very few end-stress exceptions (4.3) which are likely to occur in first or second year Russian courses. On the other hand such stem stress exceptions (5.3) as -čísli-, -čísti-, -véti- etc. and mobile stress exceptions (6.3) as -lučǵ-, -ručǵ- should be treated as stems with exceptional DI's, thus making the derivational rules as presented valid for the remaining and more common verbs.
9. Kiparsky's statistics (316) indicate that at least 87% of all mobile stress i-verbs point to an older end-stress pattern.

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THEME AND COLOR IN BLOK'S "СТИХИ О ПРЕКРАСНОЙ ДАМЕ"¹

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"Стихи о прекрасной даме" is a collection of approximately half of the poems written by Aleksandr Blok between 1901 and 1902,² arranged chronologically and divided into six parts:

1. Petersburg. Spring of 1901.
2. Šaxmatovo (small country estate of the Beketovs - Blok's mother's family - near Moscow). Summer and fall of 1901.
3. Petersburg. Fall and winter of 1901.
4. Petersburg. Winter and spring of 1902.
5. Šaxmatovo. Summer of 1902.
6. Petersburg. Fall (up until November 7th) of 1902.

This collection marks the formal appearance of Blok's "beautiful lady" in Russian literature. Her mystical side is generally acknowledged to be a re-creation, in terms of Blok's own personal brand of mysticism, of Solov'ev's "Sofija." Her earthly side, however, is related to the person of Ljubov Dmitreevna Mendeleva, Blok's great love, who was soon to become his wife. The closing date of the collection (November 7th, 1902) is, in fact, the date on which Ljubov and Blok reached a decision concerning the future of their relationship.³ Both sides of the poet's vision are, of course, fused in the image of the "beautiful lady" which emerges, and it is the very complexity of this synthesis which accounts for the various transformations which she undergoes throughout the collection. She is, moreover, so intimately linked with the poet himself that the lyric hero of the verses, the "I," is as complex a form as the "beautiful lady" herself.

The poetic world in which all these transformations take place is one of echoes and reflections, contrasting shades of light and dark and prismatic flashes of color. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the use of colors within this changing context, paying special attention to the form and continuity which their use lends to the world of the poet and his "lady."

After first examining the dominant themes in each of the six sections of the collection, we will then examine the use of color within the context of the outlined themes.

The opening section of the collection is entitled "Petersburg. Spring of 1901," but the presence of Petersburg is not felt until the closing poem of the cycle. Blok is never, of course, a poet of realistic city scapes, but as the collection progresses, Petersburg begins to loom large with its familiar fog, mist, Neva embankments and white nights (what Močul'skij calls the "Petersburg motifs"). The pervading mood of this section is one of expectation rather than fulfillment, for we see the poet awaiting an encounter with the "beautiful lady" rather than actually confronting her. The first two poems of the opening cycle, "Я вышел. Медленно сходили..." and "Ветер принес издалека..." help to create a mood of anticipation by depicting the coming spring in terms of sunrise and sunset. In Russian

"сумерки" refers primarily to the period of the day following sunset, but it can also refer to the period preceding dawn.⁴ The "sunset of winter" (сумерки зимы), therefore, appearing in the first poem becomes the "dawn of nearing spring" (сумерки близкой весны) in the second poem. Both images serve to depict spring as something impending rather than as something actual.

The poet's desire for an encounter with Her is stimulated by the various forms of indirect communication which exist between them. The wind, for example, brings "the hint of a spring song" which, in turn, is said to be Her song. The abode of the "beautiful lady" is the ethereal "бездонная лазурь" or the "синие снега" from which She must deign to emerge in order to appear to the poet. The complexity of Blok's vision of the "beautiful lady" and more specifically of his own relation to Her, is evident in the poem "Душа молчит. В холодном небе..." where he speaks of his soul existing in a state of "двуликое одиночество." The duality referred to here appears to be of a positive nature and is in that sense sharply distinguished from the ominous duality which haunts the poet's visions as the collection progresses. It suggests in fact the "feminine" or rather universal nature of the poet himself. His soul is a microcosmic mirror of the universe and is, therefore, a smaller version of Her, the "feminine hypostasis"⁵ of the universe. This idea is given further expression in the poem "Все бытие и сущее...":

Все бытие и сущее согласно
В великой, непрестанной тишине.
Смотри туда участно, безучастно, —
Мне все равно-вселенная во мне.
Я чувствую, и верую, и знаю,
Сочувствием провидца не прельстишь.
Я сам в себе с избытком заключаю
Все те огни, какими ты горишь...

Here the poet claims a kind of equality with the "beautiful lady" because he too contains the "universe within him" and hence shares Her "женственность."

The duality of the poet's visions assumes a more frightening form in the poem "Ночью сумрачной и дикой..." where he speaks of a "бледноликой призрак." As Blok's struggle with doubles becomes more intense later in the collection, the epithet "бледноликий" comes to be replaced by the even more ominous "безликий" (appearing in section five). The poem "Кто-то шепчет и смеется..." also provides a hint of a possible change in the poet's attitude to his "beautiful lady." Here She makes Her presence felt by the poet through whispering and laughter. Although Her laughter appears to be pleasing to the poet in this poem, it is not difficult to guess that later in the collection when Blok's vision of the "beautiful lady" becomes more clearly ambivalent, Her laughter will appear mocking and derisive. Another poem which offers insight into the multidimensional vision of the "lady" which is presented is "Все отлетают сны земные." Here She emerges as a kind of Proserpina or underground goddess who is seen "on the threshold of cold, mute lands" where people in dungeons stare indifferently at one another and "mothers do not recognize their sons."

The second section of the collection, entitled "Šaxmatovo. Summer and fall of 1901." differs noticeably from the preceding one in its more individualized treatment of the landscape. The

country estate of Šaxmatovo is not, of course, described in realistic detail but appears, rather, as a misty panorama of corn-fields, trees and sandy hillocks. This clearer delineation of the landscape is accompanied, interestingly enough, by changes in the poet's vision of the "beautiful lady." Their relationship begins to assume more of the attributes of an earthly passion, with its anxieties, disappointments and bitterness. The poet now begins to complain of Her coldness and impassivity, as is seen in the poem "Прозрачные, неведомые тени...", where he speaks of Her "surrender to azure dreams" but Her indifference to "the unknown slave who sings to Her." Along with the poet's frustration at Her indifference, we find fear of Her deception, as for example in "Не пой ты мне и сладостно и нежно:", in which he expresses his awareness of the lie which can be concealed in a passionate word.

The theme of duality reappears, but now a double image of the "beautiful lady" begins to appear alongside that of the poet himself, again showing the indissoluble bond which unites the poet's self with that of his "beautiful lady." In "Предчувствую тебя" he is anxious that at the crucial moment She will "change her appearance," and in "Я помню час глухой...", the poet's own double seems to reappear in the form of a "two-faced confidant [who is] hostile to the end." On the one hand, the poet suspects that he is being deceived by his "beautiful lady," thereby accounting for the ominous ambivalence which comes to characterize his visions of Her. On the other hand, he feels that he might be deluding himself with his fanciful visions--a sentiment which evokes the frequent appearance of the poet's own mocking and derisive double.

The third section of the collection (Petersburg. Fall and winter of 1901) is, like the first section, written in Petersburg, but with the notable difference that the Petersburg landscape is vividly evident throughout. It is here that what Močul'skij calls "the Petersburg motifs" first appear--cold, gloom, whirling mists, marshes and snowstorms. This ominous and depressing portrayal of the landscape is accompanied naturally enough by a corresponding change in the poet's relationship with his "beautiful lady." Depression and pain are evident in most of the poems, and the poet's mystical visions offer little solace, for they are plagued with ambiguities and deceptions. The theme of the double, therefore, reappears with even greater force, and both the poet's and Her image are irrevocably split in two. In "Будет день и свершится великое...", for example, Her double appears "white and faceless." In "Я долго ждал -- ты вышла поздно...", She is seen during a blizzard in the form of an "enchantress." In this sense the Petersburg image of the "beautiful lady" which appears in this section is very much linked with that of Her double. Perhaps the most awesome portrayal of the double theme is found in "Неотвязный стоит на дороге..." in which the poet's double (described as white) is seen in the company of Her ("light-blue carina of the earth"). Blok's double now becomes his rival for Her love--a theme which is developed in the later sections, and which appears again in this section in the rather vague poem "Я бремя похитил..." in which the poet writes: "Но боже! как тяжко внимать / Чужой нарастающей страсти...." It appears also in the poem "Двойнику" (Ты совершил над нею подвиг трудный, / Но, бедный друг! о, различил

ли ты / Ее наряд, и праздничный и чудный, / И странные весенние цветы?...)) It might be noted also that in the poem "Неотвязный стоит на дороге," death is present in the form of the double who stalks the poet. This is seen clearly in the "grave-like" image of the "груда камней" which appears in the second stanza. In the poem "Сумрак дня несет печаль," moreover, the poet sees concealed in the rays of dawn the "dead and faceless one."

There are a series of three poems in this section which must be commented on, if not explained satisfactorily. They are, like all the other poems of the section, written in the first person but with the added feature of feminine modifiers. The poems are: "Хранила я среди младых созвучий..."; "Медленно в двери церковные..."; and "Скрипнула дверь. Здрожала рука." It would seem in these poems that the poet had suddenly become Her and was writing through Her eyes. There is, in fact, the suggestion, as there was in the first section, that there is an element of Her in the poet himself, and it is now from this perspective that "he-She" is writing. Such an interpretation is supported by the following lines from the poem "Хранила я среди младых созвучий...": "Идите прочь — я чую серафима, / Мне чужды здесь земные ваши сны...." Here it would indeed seem that things were being viewed from Her perspective, for Her use of the impersonal "your" (ваши) in regard to him (in sharp contrast to his use of the intimate "you" (ты) form in regard to Her) would be in keeping with Her alleged coldness and indifference to him.

The poems of part four, written between January and May of 1902, are noteworthy for their clear reflection of the poet's changing mood. The poems of January and February, which constitute approximately half of the poems included, bear witness to the "apex of the poet's mystical ascent,"⁶ whereas the remaining poems of the section testify to the depression and disenchantment which characterize the poet's descent from ecstasy.

In the early poems of the section the "white doubles" and deceptive chimeras are noticeably absent from the setting of "hushed churches" where the poet awaits his "beautiful lady." The predominant setting is indeed the semi-dark church with its cold, gray stones, its flickering candles, and the mute prayers and hymns which resound within it. Perhaps the high point of the poet's mystical ecstasy is to be found in the poem "Сны раздумий небывалых..." (Все виденья так мгновенны — / Буду ль верить им? / Но Владычицей вселенной, / Красотой неизмеренной, / Я случайный, бедный тленный, / Может быть, любим....) There is a strong sense of revelation and discovery in the poems of this period, and visions of Her (more precisely, anticipated visions of Her) are associated with knowledge of God and of the secrets of the universe. After March, however, this mood of mystical revelation shows a marked downward trend. The growing desperation of the poet is evident in "На темном пороге тайком...", which begins in the manner of many of the earlier poems in the collection: the poet is beside Her in the temple although She feels that She is alone. There is, however, a sharp change of mood in the last stanza: "Все призрак — все горе — все ложь. / Дрожу и молюсь, и шепчу... / О, если крылами взмахнешь, / С тобой навсегда улечу." The poet's double appears shortly thereafter in "Люблю высокие соборы," (Боюсь души моей двуликой / И осторожно хороню / Свой образ дьявольский и дикий / В сию священную броню....) A complementary double image of Her occurs in

"Я тварь дрожащая..." (В Тебе таятся в ожиданий / Великий свет и злая тьма...), and in "Днем вершу я дела суеты..." (Как ты лжива и как ты бела! / Мне же по сердцу белая ложь....) It is also interesting to note that in the beginning of the section when the poet's mystical ecstasy is at its peak, the Petersburg landscape is not clearly discernible, the setting being, rather, that of the "hushed, mute church." As, however, the note of deception and despair becomes more pronounced, Petersburg again looms large. Moreover, a new set of "Petersburg motifs" takes its place alongside the already familiar motifs of snow, marshes, whirling mist and fog--namely, the streets and houses of the city.

The fifth section of the collection (Šaxmatovo. Summer of 1902) is characterized by a slowness of tempo and a lifelessness of mood. It is a kind of amalgam of all the themes that have appeared thus far, but without either the ecstasy or desperation which distinguished them previously. It is, in fact, the joyless resignation of the poet which makes this section one of the most depressing of the collection. The setting and time is, as we see, Šaxmatovo in the summer of 1902, but the poems themselves blend together many different landscapes (never sharply delineated) and many different seasons.

In the first poem of the section, "Брожу в стенах монастыря..." the poet emerges as sombre monk who is surrounded by an atmosphere that is strongly suggestive of death ("сонный плен" and "мертвенная бледность"). In "Не бойся умереть в пути..." a voice tells the poet that She will descend to him and that he is not forever doomed to "отчаянная и смертная боль." It is implied, however, throughout the section that the relief and solace which in fact await the poet are death. In the concluding poem, "Без Меня б твои сны улетали..." the first-person subject seems to be the "beautiful lady" and She is addressing the poet: "Тебя я встречу где-то в мире, / За далью каменных дорог. / На страшном, на последнем мире / Для нас готовит встречу Бог...." Again there is the suggestion of a meeting between the poet and his "beautiful lady" after death. It appears, therefore, that since the poet's mystical aspirations have ceased to be realized in his dreams and visions, he now seeks their fulfillment in some vague and undefined state after death. Also, within a more earthly context, Blok could be said to be having doubts about the outcome of his relationship with Ljubov Dmitreevna, and hence muses about seeking an end to his torment in death.

It is obvious that in such an atmosphere as this, the theme of the double, with its suggestion of death and nothingness ("безликий призрак"), would appear with particular force. It is also interesting to note that the Petersburg landscape is present with its ice and snow and winter motifs--a setting which, as we have observed earlier, is especially evocative of doubles. In addition, the theme of the harlequin (a foretaste of "Балаганчик") appears for the first time in the collection in "Свет в окошке шатался..." and seems, moreover, in context to be another variant of the double theme. The harlequin's laughter and his "lack of belief in rapture and delight" is reminiscent of the poet's laughing and mocking double present in some of the earlier poems.

And now we come to our discussion of the sixth and culminating section of the entire collection (Fall up until November 7, 1902). It is the section in which all the themes which have

heretofore appeared attain their final brilliance, and in contrast to the preceding section, there is a marked speed-up in tempo. The theme of death is still very much present, but there is also an accompanying affirmation of life, as is seen, for example in "Безрадостные всходят семена..." (О, как я жив, как бьет ключами кровь! / Я здесь родной с подземными ключами! / Мгновенья тайн! / Ты вечная любовь!...)

The "beautiful lady" is, of course, also present, and She appears with some of Her old familiar radiance in the first poem of "Religio": "...Но, выходя под утро в луг, / Твердя невнятные напевы, / Я знал Тебя, мой вечный друг, / Тебя, Хранительница-Дева...." Her earthly form, interestingly enough, is also more pronounced in this section than in any of the preceding ones. The image of Her which, in fact, emerges from "Она стройна и высока..." is reminiscent of a letter written by Blok to Ljubov Dmitreevna in which he recalls the times when he used to wait for her after her dramatic classes and then conduct her on walks through the city.⁷ Even the detail of the "silver-black" fur appears both in the poem and in the letter. It is, of course, also curious that in the poem "someone else" is meeting her rather than the poet himself, thereby suggesting the reappearance of his "rival-double."

The assumption by the "beautiful lady" of a more earthly form is also consistent with another feature of the section--namely the poet's growing disillusionment with mysticism. A letter of Blok written to his father and dated August 5th, 1902,⁸ mentions his descent from a purely mystical faith and constitutes, in fact, a curious introduction to the verses of this section. In expressing his growing disillusionment with mysticism, Blok resorts to the device of writing from the perspective of an old man--an old man who recalls everything that happened to him in a "youthful dream:" "Под старость лет, забыв святое, / Сухим вниманьем я живу. / Когда-то -- там -- нас было двое, / Но то во сне -- не наяву / ...Но глупым сказкам я не верю, / Больной, под игом седины. / Пускай другой отыщет двери, / Какие мне не суждены." This changing of perspective is also evident in "Свобода смотрит в синеву..." (...Как и тогда, звенит окно. / Но голос мой, как воздух свежий, / Пропел давно, замолк давно / Под тростником у побережий....)

The dynamic co-existence of contrasting themes found in this section of the collection has a vitality which was lacking in the preceding section. It is, in fact, this dynamic tension between contrasts and alternatives that heralds a turning point, both in the poet's personal life and in his art. It is indeed significant that the date November 7th is included in the title of the section, for it is the date of Blok's "решительное объяснение с Любовью Дмитриевной."⁹ The desperation and fear which this approaching encounter instilled in the poet are reflected both in the verses and in the personal notes of the period. Alongside the poet's poetic reflections on death, for example, there are many concrete references in his personal writings to suicide--a drastic measure which subsequent events were, fortunately, to render unnecessary.

Before beginning our discussion of Blok's use of color within this thematic context, let us consider what Močul'skiij has to say about the colors that appear in the collection. He categorizes the colors in the following way:

"For the 'world of vanity' — three colors: black, white and grey: the whiteness of snow, the blackness of night, and the grayness of twilight; for the 'real world' — the mystical colors: gold, blue and azure."¹⁰ Such a classification is remarkable for its inaccuracy in that it seems to have been devised without any attention having been paid to the textual context in which the colors appear. To begin with, it is curious that Močul'skiĭ devised a method of categorization which rests on an opposition between the "world of vanity" and the "real world." Such an opposition is curious because it suggests that there is a thematic basis in the collection for making such an opposition, when, in fact, the most striking thing about the collection is its blurring and erasing of all distinctions. It is, moreover, as hazardous to attempt a clear delineation between the poet and his lady, and the many doubles of both which appear, as it is to oppose the world of "vain reality" to the world of "mystical reality." Also, the example that is provided to illustrate white's function in the collection is a purely descriptive one and would indicate, therefore, that this was white's function throughout the collection. The most cursory consideration of the many contexts in which white appears will demonstrate immediately the erroneousness of such a contention.

Now let us proceed to an examination of the individual colors that appear in the collection and the thematic context in which they occur.¹¹ Reserving our discussion of white, which is thematically and numerically the most significant color of the collection,¹² until the end, let us begin our discussion with azure (лазурный). Azure is consistent in its use throughout the collection and is associated exclusively with the "other-worldly," mystical realms of the "beautiful lady." Her azure abode lies somewhere "way up above" or "beyond," and She is often described as descending from it to appear to the poet. As has been pointed out earlier, "fathomless" (бездонная) is an epithet typically affixed to azure (in nominal form). By extension, azure can relate to the world of mystical revelation which is implicit in the poet's vision of the "beautiful lady." This is seen in the poem "Небесное умом не измеримо..." (Небесное умом не измеримо, / Лазурное сокрыто от умов. / Лишь изредка приносят серафимы / Священный сон избранникам миров....) It is interesting to note that azure is found most frequently in those sections of the collection where the vision of the "beautiful lady" which is presented is most unambiguously mystical and "other-worldly," for example, in the opening two sections and then again in part four (the poems of January and February).

Gold (золотой) is a companion color to azure and is, likewise, consistent in its use throughout the collection. Its traditional association with the radiance of the sun and hence with beauty and ecstasy is, of course, evident. It has a wider application than azure because it can be used to describe all the things associated with the radiance and glory of Her: She can be golden, She can wear golden garments, the azure can be golden because it's Her realm, etc. Likewise, the poet's dreams are golden when they're about Her and Her realm, as are all links, chains, boundaries, lines, etc., that represent a possible union between the poet and his lady. Gold is found in familiar context in the following poem: "Не сердись, и прости. Ты цветешь одиноко, / Да и мне не вернуть / Этих снов золотых, этой веры глубокой...." In his article "О современном состоянии русского

символизма," Blok describes as golden the sword which will "pierce the purple of the violet worlds."¹³ In other words, it is golden because it will succeed in penetrating the mystical realms, i.e., it will achieve union with Her.

Blue (синий) is, in contrast to azure, a color of this (as opposed to "that") world and might even be termed an earthly counterpart of the more ethereal azure. Močul'skij, then, is incorrect in failing to distinguish between azure and blue in his system of categorization. Blue is used conventionally in the collection to describe "ordinary" sky, and it is also used to describe the earthly realms of the "beautiful lady." In the first section, for example, it is found twice in the poem "Тихо вечерние тени..." in the expression "blue snows." The use of the adjective blue to describe dazzling whiteness is not uncommon in Western usage, but its use here assumes an additional significance, for the poet is awaiting Her resurrection from the dead, and the "blue snows" that are spoken of are the resting place of Her ashes. Blue then, in contrast to azure, is a color of this earth and by extension, a color of Her realm when it is of this earth. Keeping this in mind, it no longer seems accidental that Blok speaks of his "незнакомка" as a "красавица — кукла, синий призрак (и) земное чудо."¹⁴

Now we proceed in our discussion to an examination of the pastel colors appearing in the collection, namely, light-blue (голубой) and rose (розовой). Light-blue suggests the chimerical and the elusive and by extension, the unattainable. It not infrequently relates to distance--roads, paths, etc., as in the poem "Ты прошла голубыми путями..." and again in "Весна в реки ломает льдины..." (...Преодолев мои версины, / Забыл я зимние теснины / И вижу голубую даль....) Light-blue's association with the unattainable is, in fact, supported by Blok's own comments:

...Символист уже изначала — теург, т.е., обладатель тайного знания, за которым стоит тайное действие; но на эту тайну которая лишь впоследствии оказывается всемирной, он смотрит как на свою; он видит в ней клад, над которым расцветает цветок папоротника в июньскую полночь; и хочет сорвать в голубую полночь — "голубой цветок"...¹⁵

Rose is an elusive color in the collection and one difficult to pin down. It appears, however, to be the color of hope (often beguiling) and of expectation. The sky, for example, or "general atmosphere" is often described as being rose when the poet is awaiting a vision of Her (and often in vain). This is seen in the poem (from section three) "Ночью вьюга снежная..." (Ночью вьюга снежная / Заметала след. / Розовое, нежное / Утро будит свет...) and also in "Бегут неверные тени..." (from section four) -- "...Растут невнятно розовые тени, / Высок и внятен колыбельный зов, / Ложится мгла на старые ступени. / Я озарен — я жду твоих шагов..." It is also curious that rose, like light-blue, is used with distance in the poem "Восходя на первые ступени..." (...Я смотрел на линии земли, / Меркли дни — порывы иступлений / Гасли, гасли в розовой дали...) In concluding our discussion of the pastel colors, light-blue and rose, let us note that the two combined form the "пурпурно-лиловый" color mentioned above (note #13). They appear as the colors of beguiling hope and illusion, the colors which must be "pierced through" to reach the world of golden azure.

Red (красный) is the awesome color of portent and prophecy in the collection. It is the color of the secrets and mysteries which are implicit in Her image and which serve as a constant source of uneasiness for the poet. It is the color of future events, the reminder of something yet to be accomplished. Naturally, by projection, it can be termed the symbol of cataclysm and revolution (which it is more clearly in Blok's later works), but to make it the unequivocal symbol of revolution at this stage in Blok's works is, it seems, to apply the wisdom of hindsight. The ominousness and uneasiness which red suggests is seen clearly in the poem (from part four) "Уходит день..." (Уходит день! В пыли дорожной / Горят последние лучи. / Их красный отблеск непреложно / Слилсся с огнем моей свечи. // И ночь моя другой навстречу / Плышет, медлительно ясна. / Пусть красный отблеск не замечу — / Придет наверное она....) Here as we can see, red is quite plainly a negative color, for it is the "red reflections" of the last rays of sun which mar the poet's mood of joyous expectation and fill him with doubts. Red's additional association with the mysterious and occult side of the "beautiful lady" is seen clearly in the introductory poem to the entire collection, "Отдых напрасен...." In this poem She is seen high up in Her "терем," stern and impassive as usual. The scene portrayed is reminiscent of that of a medieval knight (i.e., the poet) coming to pay court to his fair lady, who stands high above him in her castle room. Red occurs in the following context in the poem: "...Терем высок, и заря замерла. / Красная тайна у входа легла / ...Каждый конек на узорной резьбе / Красное пламя бросает к Тебе...."

Алый (described in the Usakov dictionary as being "ярко-красный") appears to be the flamboyant color of jubilation--the jubilation of the heavens at Her presence. It is the festive color which the elements assume when they joyously pay Her homage. The festiveness of "алый," however, does not preclude its having ominous import for the poet. In other words, the spectacle of homage paid to Her by the elements may not have any immediate relevance for the poet-spectator, or rather, it may even serve to remind him of his isolation and alienation from the scene which he is witnessing. This is suggested in the poem "Я понял смысл твоих стремлений..." (Я понял смысл твоих стремлений — / Тебе я заслоняю путь. / Огонь нездешних вождений / Вздыхает девственную грудь. / Моей-ли жалкой, слабой речи / Борюсь с пламенем твоим / На рубеже безвестной встречи / С началом близким и чужим! / Я понял все и отхожу я. / Благословен грядущий день. / Ты, в алом сумраке ликуя, / Ночную миновала тень....) It is also interesting to note that the highest incidence of "алый" occurs in the opening sections of the collection (as was true of azure as well) where the vision of the "beautiful lady" that is presented is the most ethereal and mystical. It is, moreover, absent from the last two sections of the collection where the vision of the "beautiful lady" that appears is more "tainted" and ambiguous.

Yellow is a negative color associated with the harshness and artificiality of the city (with its electric lights, etc.). It seems to relate to the poet's personal uneasiness and discomfort in surroundings which are peculiarly evocative of deceptive chimeras and doubles. It is not surprising then that the highest incidence of yellow occurs in the sixth section of the collection where the city, and the themes most closely associated with it,

dominate. It appears in the following context in the poem "Она стройна и высока..." (...Мелькали Желтые огни / И электрические свечи. / И он встречал ее в тени, / А я следил и пел их встречи....) In this example the poet witnesses a rendezvous between Her and a mysterious stranger who is most probably the ubiquitous double long since familiar to us. Yellow occurs again in a similar context in the poem "При жолтом свете..." (При жолтом свете веселились, / Всю ночь у стен сжимался круг, / Ряды танцующих двоились, / И мнился неотступный друг. // ...Казалось, там, за дымкой пыли, / В толпе скрываясь, кто то жил, / И очи странные следили, / И голос пел и говорил.)

Black (черный), like red and yellow, is a color with negative associations, but its significance in the collection is limited to that which it enjoys in traditional symbolism. It suggests, in other words, impenetrability, mystery, death, etc., and all the other negative things commonly associated with it. It is striking, however, that the highest incidence of black (as well as yellow) occurs in section six where the poet's visions assume a more earthly and often a more ominous and threatening form. Black's traditional associations with death and destruction are in fact utilized by the poet with considerable consistency, as is seen in the poem "Разгорятся тайные знаки..." (...Надо мной небосвод уже низок, / Черный сон тяготеет в груди. / Мой конес предначертанный близок, / И война, и пожар — впереди.) In the poem "Безмолвный призрак в терему..." however, black is used to suggest the complete debasement of the poet before his "beautiful lady," for he describes himself as a "черный раб проклятой крови (с одним Заветом — Завет служенья Непостижной)." To conclude our discussion of black, we can say that it appears with all the negative associations widely attributed to it, but that it fails to acquire a significance within the collection which goes beyond that attributed to it in conventional symbolism.

Finally we turn to white (белый) which, numerically and thematically, is the key color of the entire collection. In the opening sections of the collection, however, its significance appears limited to that which it enjoys in conventional symbolism. It is used to suggest purity, holiness and inviolacy and is, in this sense, associated with what we might term the pseudo-religious side of the poet's visions. These associations are clearly evident in the poem "Ныне, полный блаженства..." (...Ныне сжался, о. боже, / Над блаженным рабом! Вышли Ангела, боже, / С нежно-белым крылом!...); and also in "Душа молчит..." In this latter poem the communication between two souls is likened to the union between the "hearts of white birds flying over the ocean." In section three of the collection, however, white assumes broader thematic significance because it comes to be linked with the so-called "Petersburg motifs" and with the double theme. Its changing associations are seen quite clearly in the poem "Я долго ждал — ты вышла поздно..." (...Ты в белой выюге, в свежем стане / Орять волшебницей всплыла...); and again in "Неотвязный стоит на дороге..." where white appears in reference to the poet's double: "...Белый — смотрит в морозную ночь. / Я — навстречу в глубокой тревоге, / Он, шатаясь, сторонится прочь..." We see then, that in this section (three) white is no longer associated solely with the holy and chaste side of the "beautiful lady" but also with Her "enchanted-double," and with the poet's own double. The ominous ambivalence which comes to characterize

white in this section accompanies it, moreover, throughout the collection.

The context in which white appears in section four is quite interesting in view of what we noted earlier about the themes that dominate the section. For example, we pointed out that the poems written in January and February bear witness to the "apex of the poet's mystical ascent," whereas the remaining poems of the section testify to the depression and disenchantment which characterize the poet's descent from ecstasy. White occurs thirteen times in the section, but all the examples in which it appears occur in those poems written in March or later, namely after the poet's descent from mystical ecstasy. The absence of white from the "mystical" poems of January and February is indeed significant when we consider that in the first two sections of the collection white was associated unambiguously with the mystical (or rather pseudo-religious) side of the poet's visions and was found within the traditional context of purity and holiness. From this we might conclude that Blok sees white as a particularly effective cloak for duality because of its traditionally positive associations. In other words, it is because of white's earlier alliance with the chaste and pseudo-religious side of the poet's visions of his "beautiful lady" that it is insidiously effective in its new role as the symbol of duality and deceit. White's association with Her deceit is spelled out directly in "Днем вершу дела суеты..." (...Как ты лжива и как ты бела! / Мне же по сердцу белая ложь....)

In addition to embodying the double theme, white also embodies the element of death which is implicit in the double theme. This is seen clearly in the first poem of the sixth and concluding section of the collection, "Я вышел в ночь..." Here the poet goes out into the night and hears the muffled sound of horses' hooves which gradually grow louder. The road shines white under the moon, a white stallion approaches and "...стало ясно, кто молчит и на пустом седле смеется..." White's association, then, with the poet's laughing double--death--is made explicit. Also, in "Ты свята, но я Тебе не верю..." the theme of death is again evident: "...И тогда, понявшись выше тлена, / Ты откроешь Лучезарный Лик. / И, свободный от земного плена, / Я пролью всю жизнь в последний крик." А "вереница белая" appears in this poem which seems to represent death. The figures composing this "вереница" are described as "страшны," and their faces are said to be "не-земные маски."

To conclude our discussion of white we can say that it is the color of the underlying duality which characterizes the entire collection--i.e., it symbolizes the duality of the poet's very nature and hence of the visions which he experiences. Moreover, as it is the color which contains all colors of the spectrum, so it is the force which unites all themes.

In considering the relationship between theme and color in "Стихи о прекрасной даме," let us say in conclusion that color plays a significant role indeed in sustaining the consistency and continuity of the themes that appear in the collection. As has been shown, the dominant colors relate quite specifically and quite systematically to particular aspects of the poet's vision of his "beautiful lady." We the reader, then, need not depend on our "free" impressions of the role which colors play in the collection, for Blok himself has indicated their signifi-

cance by selecting the context in which they appear--a context, moreover, which is self-revealing to anyone who consults it.

Notes

1. The text of "Стихи о прекрасной даме," which I consulted is taken from Александр Блок, Собрание Сочинений, vol. 1, Petersburg, 1922.
2. Н. Мочульский, Александр Блок, Paris, 1948, p. 55.
3. Мочульский, p. 65.
4. Definition of "сумерки" provided in the Толковый Словарь Русского Языка, ed. by D. N. Ušakov, Moscow, 1947.
5. An expression used by D. S. Mirsky in A History of Russian Literature, New York, 1964, p. 454.
6. Мочульский, p. 74.
7. Quoted in Мочульский, p. 61.
8. Quoted in Мочульский, p. 60.
9. Мочульский, p. 65.
10. Мочульский, p. 69.
11. The discussion which follows of the context in which colors appear in the collection is a much abbreviated version of a longer seminar paper (written in January, 1965 for Professor Taranovski's Blok seminar at Harvard University) which examined virtually all the contexts in which colors appeared. This paper presents only the conclusions of that paper concerning the significance of colors in the collection, supported by a few pertinent examples.
12. Statistics on color words are to be found in appendices 1 and 2.
13. А. Блок, "О современном состоянии русского символизма," Сочинения в двух томах, т. 2, Москва, 1955, p. 152.
14. Блок, p. 152.
15. Блок, p. 149.

Appendix I: Numerical Frequency of Color Words

<u>Colors</u>	<u>Introd.</u> <u>Poem</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>I</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>II</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>III</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>IV</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>V</u>	<u>Part</u> <u>VI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Белый	-	3	2	8	13	7	7	40*
Лазурный	1	4	5	2	4	3	-	19*
Синий	1	3	1	1	-	2	2	10*
Голубой	-	-	2	3	1	1	1	8*
Красный	2	2	-	3	2	2	3	14*
Багровый	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Алый	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	6*
Розовой	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	6*
Золотой	-	1	3	2	5	2	5	18*
Желтый	-	1	1	1	1	-	3	6*
Изумрудный	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Зеленый	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	4
Серебряный	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	4
Алмазный	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Серый	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Черный	-	-	1	1	2	1	4	9*
Total of all color words:								151

This list includes all color words--verbs, adjectives, nouns, etc. Example: gold, golden, to be golden (or seem gold)

*These designate the colors to be discussed. The other colors appeared too infrequently to be considered and/or appeared to have descriptive significance only.

Appendix II: Colors Arranged According to Percentage of Frequency

1. Белый	26%†	8. {Алый	
2. Лазурный	12%	{Розовой	3+%
		{Желтый	
3. Золотой	11+%	9. {Зеленый	
4. Красный	9%	{Серебряный	2+%
5. Синий	6+%	10. {Багровый	
6. Черный	5+%	{Изумрудный	1%
		{Серый	
7. Голубой	5%	11. Алмазный	.6%

†very rough estimate

The advent of structural dialectology has had little effect on the propensity for 'antique' collecting found among dialectologists. There is ever the hope that some rare, old form will be discovered. Yet one must bear in mind that 'fakes' are not unusual; due caution should be exercised in establishing the genuineness of an old form. The process of authentication must include a study of the form together with related forms in the given dialect both from a synchronic and from a diachronic point of view. The analysis must then be extended to the other dialects of the given language, to other languages in the language group, and finally to neighboring languages in other groups.

On occasion, in their haste to bolster a priori assumptions, etymologists have had recourse to unusual dialect forms, which were not subjected to the process of authentication outlined above. The posited relationships, though interesting, were frequently suspect and more than once were proved false by subsequent investigators.¹

During the course of linguistic field work among Kashubian speakers in the U.S., an interesting 'antique' form was discovered. It is the analysis of this form and a discussion of its implications for the reconstruction of Proto-Slavic which follow.

While eliciting the responses of an American speaker of the Ugosko-studzieńska dialect of South-west Kashubian from Kazimierz Nitsch's questionnaire for the Mały atlas gwar polskich,² the following reply was recorded in answer to question number 122, 'Mleć' (to grind): "Some called what young fish are raised from /mlić/. The yellow round stuff we called /júkro/."³ Although the response /mlić/ represents a misunderstanding of the Polish form 'mleć,' it is nevertheless predictable, since Polish /e/ frequently corresponds to /i/ in the informant's Kashubian idiolect, in which *ć* does not occur as a separate phoneme. Of primary interest, however, is the form /júkro/ (the acute accent represents non-phonemic stress). This form is unusual not only for the informant's idiolect but also for Pomoranian in general.

The Proto-Slavic formula for this form is usually constructed as *jъkra, *jъkro.⁴ Lorentz cites kro as the normal Kashubian reflex and further states, "Prasł. jъ przedstawia się w pomorskiem bardzo różnie.....(a complete list of examples follows).....Różnica w traktowaniu jъ- wydaje się polegać na tem, że należy brać za punkt wyjścia akcentowane i nieakcentowane jъ-. Pod przyciskiem jъ- dało ie-, w pozycji bez przyciskowej ii-. W poszczególnych wypadkach trzeba przyjąć nawet ь-, a wreszcie, że rekonstrukcja form prasłowiańskich wymaga rewizji, w szczególności tak pomorszczyzna jak i inne języki słowiańskie wydają mi się przemawiać za prasłow. *inъ, *istъnъ, aczkolwiek etymologje - wprawdzie niepozbawione wątpliwości - wskazują na ь- i powstałe zeń jъ-."⁵

In his inventory of Pomoranian reflexes for *jъ- Lorentz lists the following: je-, ji-, ja-, vi- (Slovincian), e- ə-, and Ø. Of these, only Ø is listed for *jъkro. There are no examples of ju-. All other reflexes for *jъ- found in the informant's idiolect concur with the findings of Lorentz: /grác/

< *jьgrati, /mjéc/ < *jьměti, /ímja/ < *jьmę, /ínni/ < *jьnъ, /skrí/ (nom. pl.) < *jьskra, and /ízbje/ (loc. sg.) < *jьstьba.

According to Sławski⁶ and Vasmer⁷ the reflexes of *jьkra, jьkro in the other Slavic languages are as follows: Polish ikra, Czech jikra, Slovak ikra, Upper Sorbian jikra, (Lower Sorbian jerk, ěerk, nerk < *nerst), Polabian jakre, Russian ikrá, Ukrainian ikrá, White Russian ikrá, Serbo-Croatian ĩkra, Bulgarian ikrá, and Slovenian íkra. Again there is no form which corresponds to /júkro/.

The Indo-European origins of *jьkra, *jьkro are somewhat obscure. The cognates usually cited are Irish iuchair, iuchrach 'roe,' Lithuanian ĩkras 'roe' and Old Indic yákr̥t, yahnán 'liver' (with its cognates in Lithuanian, Latvian, Latin, Avestan, and Greek). Most etymologists agree on the Irish form.⁸ Brückner contends that the Lithuanian form is a borrowing from Polish or Russian.⁹ None of the authorities seems completely convinced of the connection with Old Indic. Perhaps it is not mere chance that the only generally agreed upon Indo-European cognate bears a resemblance to the Kashubian form in question. Is it not possible that the Proto-Slavic form for 'roe' was *jьkro rather than *jьkra? The development would be analagous to *jьgo > *jьgo > (j)igo 'yoke.'¹⁰

Notes

1. For examples of such false etymological relationships see Roman Jakobson, "Marginalia to Vasmer's Russian Etymological Dictionary (R-JA)," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, I/II (The Hague, 1959), pp. 266-278.
2. See Kazimierz Nitsch, Mały atlas gwar polskich I2 (Wrocław-Kraków, 1957), p. lxxxviii.
3. See Jan L. Perkowski, "A Kashubian Idiolect in the United States" (Indiana University - in the press), supplement to the International Journal of American Linguistics, 6.31122.
4. See Franciszek Sławski, Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego I (Kraków, 1952-1956), p. 447.
5. See Fryderyk Lorentz, Gramatyka pomorska I (Wrocław, 1958), pp. 118-119.
6. See Sławski, Słownik I 447.
7. See Max Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, I (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 477.
8. See Sławski, Słownik I 447; Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I 477; Erich Berneker, Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I (Heidelberg, 1908-1913), pp. 423-424; and Alois Walde and Julius Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), pp. 205-206.
9. See Sławski, Słownik I 447.
10. See Sławski, Słownik I 445-446 and Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I 469-470.

EMOTION IN A FORMALIST:
THE JAKOBSON-KHODASEVICH POLEMIC

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It is a common criticism of the formalistic, structure-minded critic that he is emotionless, that his approach to books is born of and consists in "scientific," coldly objective "observations." He uses books, so this argument continues, as a scientist test tubes; he measures, essays his theory of composition, and if the book meets his criteria, pronounces it a success.

Superficially, this picture is correct. The Formalist-Structuralist critic is indeed theoretical, and does aspire to "objectivity." In a way, he tries to eliminate the human factor of error. But, of course, all that a critic can do in these terms is analyze and present. He cannot judge. Evaluation is not part of a solely objective theory, since evaluation rests on human reactions and prejudices. Were the anti-Formalist argument correct, we would not be able to find any value judgments at all in the writings of the Russian Formalists. But, of course, we do.

For with the Formalists, the situation is no different than with any other careful readers: they judge in human terms, their bedrock of value a series of human elements. None, save for the second-rate and doctrinaire Formalists, ever forgets that a book is a human product, and that any reading of it will involve us in a consideration of the human, in large or small ways. When called upon, the Formalist will judge, and do so with all the conviction born of human considerations.

It would be hard to find a better illustration of this than the polemic of Roman Jakobson with the great émigré poet Vladislav Khodasevich on the subject of Mayakovsky, a favorite of the Formalists in general and Jakobson in particular, and a special nemesis of Khodasevich.

Mayakovsky was always a great literary hero of the Formalists: they wrote about him continually, and indeed knew him personally. From a formal-structural point of view, he appeared to be the perfect illustration of their postulates. Nothing was better suited to a school that claimed that a work of art was the sum of its devices than a poet who constantly called attention to his own structural features, his "self-contained" words, his "staircase" lines, his bizarre accentual rhythms, his idiosyncratic metaphors, his newly urbanized vocabulary. Mayakovsky issued to the Formalists an invitation to analysis they were quite ready to accept.

And analyze him they did, to the point where he became almost a "self-contained" monument. The two sides reinforced each other.

Mayakovsky's association with the Formalist movement was ...[intimate].... Though no expert himself in matters of prosodic terminology, he felt keenly the need for a minute analysis of poetic form, especially of verse-rhythm, which he hailed as a primordial force in his article, 'How to Make Verses.'

Mayakovsky encouraged the Formalist movement and it him: the development was parallel. New elements in any new literary movement often tend to reinforce each other, and in this case the

partners were hardly silent.

Mayakovsky represented much that was new in poetry in the early decades of the century. With his Futurist colleagues, he was more than ready to "cast overboard" the seeds of tradition, and to blaze new trails. His flamboyant recitations indeed came as the perfect illustration of his credo. He became a living symbol of the anti-traditional.

Mayakovsky's approach was, however, not the only one. Ready as he was to cast the past into the sea, he was not accepted by everyone, and found himself in some instances quite bitterly opposed. There were still traditionalists left in Russia, those who believed not only that Russia's poetic past was the undeniable source of novelty, but that such a past was indispensable, that indeed Russia's future lay in its past.

Such a man was Vladislav Khodasevich, as open a follower of Pushkin as Mayakovsky was not. In a literary career of almost 35 years, Khodasevich repeatedly stressed the direct relevance of Pushkin to the modern age. No one, he argued, had more to teach the modern poet; no one could better illustrate the career of poetry. A pronounced enmity towards Pushkin meant a duel with Khodasevich who, rather too grandiosely perhaps, proclaimed himself the chief defender of the Russian classical tradition.

To Khodasevich, Mayakovsky's attack upon Pushkin was an attack upon himself as well. Moreover, as a self-proclaimed historian of literature, Khodasevich was no more sympathetic towards the Formalists. In a controversy with Boris Eikhenbaum in the 1920's, he had opened fire on them. Justifiably accused by Eikhenbaum of being impressionistic and unsystematic, he could not distance himself from Pushkin and see him "objectively." To move on to new poetry, Eikhenbaum had argued, meant to look at Pushkin from afar.² Unable to do this, Khodasevich resorted to emotions and passions, but not arguments. Moreover, since he saw an incarnation of all that was non-Pushkin in Mayakovsky, his attacks soon centered on him.

In two extraordinary essays, "Декольтированная Лошадь" and "О Маяковском,"³ he attacked Mayakovsky as a living symbol, emotionally and furiously. This forced the Formalists in general, and Jakobson in particular, to come to his defense, not merely as a poet but as a human being. In defending Mayakovsky, Jakobson showed full well that Formalism is not mere inhuman objectivity, that it can and indeed does judge art, that its analytical processes are steps leading to a definite evaluation.

The polemic was bitter. In 1930, just after Mayakovsky's suicide, Khodasevich could write:

It was once easy for enemies to respect one another. But in our time truth has collided with lies themselves, and behind the backs of our enemies there lies not another good, but the very power of evil. For eighteen years, from the first day of his appearance, my literary (and in no way personal) enmity with Mayakovsky has lasted. And now there is no Mayakovsky. But whence can I seize upon respect for his memory?⁴

In this statement alone, Khodasevich shows a confusion of aims of which a good Formalist would never be guilty - he is quite obviously dealing in personalities, and not objective standards of criticism. He attacks Mayakovsky less as a poor poet than as

a course, unbearable human being. In the 1927 essay Khodasevich referred to the fifteen years of Mayakovsky's poetic reign as the "horse-era." Emotions fired his arguments:

The emptiness, the worthless significance of trans-sense poetry, he filled with a new content: horse-like, cattle-like, 'simple as mooing.' In the place of a cretin stood a boor.⁵

This is personal to the core. It is insulting, at the very least, and although its source may be literary, its target is clearly personal character:

[Mayakovsky is not a poet of the working-classes, but of] the riff-raff, of loafers, of plain and 'spiritual' vagabonds.⁶

It is hard to remain "objective" in the face of such an onslaught. In such circumstances, then, the formalist-defender of Mayakovsky could not remain hidden behind a smokescreen of "standards" and speak in formal categories of a human being, allowing the Khodasevich accusations to stand. In answer, Roman Jakobson, in collaboration with one of the most remarkable literary historians of this century, D. S. Mirsky, produced the volume, Смерть Владимира Маяковского, (Petropolis, Berlin: 1931).

In his contribution, "О поколении растратившем своих поэтов," he produced a defense worthy not merely of his standing as one of the great Formalist critics, but of his knowledge that literary criticism is fundamentally human, and must rest, in matters of evaluation, on human considerations. There is a passionate eloquence here, coupled with a cry of despair, that overwhelms the Khodasevich bias:

[There are] the blunt and unbridled outrages against those who have perished, incomprehensible to the West.... But what are Kikins [a poor critic of Lermontov] and Ofromisovs [a poor émigré critic of Mayakovsky]? Half-educated nothings about whom in the history of Russian culture it will be noted only that they defecated on the fresh graves of poets. It is incomparably more painful when later a fellow-poet like Khodasevich pours abuse and lies on the recently deceased poet. He is somehow looking into an important matter, and he knows that he is libellously abusing one of the greatest of Russian poets. And when he taunts that these past fifteen years of activity have been the horse century, this is self-spitting, this is the lampoon of a hangman, it is jeering at the tragic balance of one's own generation. The balance of Mayakovsky is in his 'reckoning with life;' the despicable little fate of Khodasevich is 'the most fearful of amortizations, the amortization of heart and soul.'⁷

Unwittingly, Khodasevich had proven something about the Formalists. By irritatingly bringing to a head a chief defect of his own biographical method, the refusal to judge books alone apart from their creators, by too readily basing his estimate of the written word on the human personality he despised, he forced a great Formalist into a defense through evaluation.

He proved, through Jakobson's extraordinary piece, that Formalism's dedication was to the best of literature, that its structural categories were aimed at improving one's knowledge of what is valuable in books.

Notes

1. Erlich, Russian Formalism, The Hague: 1955, pp. 46-47.
2. Сквозь Литературу, Ленинград: 1924, pp. 157-171.
3. "Декольтированная Лошадь," in Возрождение, (9/1/1927) and "О Маяковском" (1930), republished in Литературные Статьи и Воспоминания, New York: 1954.
4. From "О Маяковском"
5. From "Декольтированная Лошадь"
6. idem.
7. "О поколении растратившем своих поэтов," pp. 41-42.

Metonymic structures, as Professor Roman Jakobson¹ often points out, are, in general, less explored than the field of metaphor. A natural consequence of this "artificial unipolarity" is that the metonymic principle which underlies some post-Symbolist styles² is seldom identified or interpreted. In particular, the abundance of metonymic tropes and of hybrid devices (e.g., the metonymic simile, in which the total is compared to its part) presents a major problem for the investigators of Osip Mandel'st'am's poetry. In a recent article,³ N.Å. Nilsson discussed the expression *ладья воздушная* appearing in the poem "Адмиралтейство" and analyzed at some length its metaphoric value. Actually, however, the poem is an accurate metonymic description of the St. Petersburg Admiralty: the attic with a colonnade of classical proportions (*акрополь*), the allegoric statues of Fire, Water, Earth, and Air (*четыре стихии*), the clock tower (hence *циферблат*), and the celebrated spire tipped with a vane in the figure of a three-masted ship (*фрегат, ладья воздушная, целомудренно построенный ковчег*). Thus, the traditional Romantic and Symbolist metaphor of air ship is realized by Mandel'st'am as a metonymy which becomes an emblem of man's mastery over space:

И вот разорваны трех измерений узы
И открываются всемирные моря.

The most complex field of Mandel'st'am's poetics, the field of subtext,⁴ literary reference or quotation, is likewise an essentially metonymic one,⁵ since in order to decipher the message of the text based on another, underlying text (subtext = *подтекст*), the reader has to identify the total to which the 'cipher' refers. A hybrid form of this device is a metaphoric quotation (S. Bobrov's *заимствование по ритму и звучанию*⁶), e.g.:

И ночь-коршунница несет : Сова — кочевница высот
[*"Грифельная ода"*] [Гумилев]

Mandel'st'am himself outlined the function of subtext (упоминательная клавиатура) in his essay *Разговор о Данте*⁷:

Конец четвертой песни *Inferno* — настоящая цитатная оргия. Я нахожу здесь чистую и беспримесную демонстрацию упоминательной клавиатуры Данта...

Цитата не есть выписка. Цитата есть цикада. Неумолкаемость ей свойственна. Вцепившись в воздух, она его не отпускает. Эрудиция далеко не тождественна упоминательной клавиатуре, которая и составляет самую сущность образования

Я хочу сказать, что композиция складывается не в результате накопления частностей, а вследствие того, что одна за другой деталь отрывается от вещи, уходит от нее, выпархивает, отщепляется от системы, уходит в свое функциональное пространство, или измерение, но каждый раз в строго узаконенный срок и при условии достаточно зрелой для этого и единственной ситуации.

Obviously, the study of Dante helped Mandel'st'am to rationalize the essence of his own poetic method. The notorious obscurity of Mandel'st'am (and, in some instances, of Xlebnikov, as Vjač. Ivanov recently observed⁸) is, in fact, the inability of

the unsophisticated reader to overcome the apparent lack of semantic contiguity at the level of the text and to reconstruct what Mandel'shtam calls "the functional space or dimension" at the extratextual level (which becomes an inalienable part of the general level of meaning). Such a reconstruction is by no means arbitrary:

В отличие от грамоты музыкальной, от нотного письма, например, поэтическое письмо в значительной степени представляет большой пробел, зияющее отсутствие множества знаков, значков, указателей, подразумеваемых, единственно делающих текст понятным и закономерным. Но все эти знаки не менее точны, нежели нотные знаки или иероглифы танца; поэтически грамотный читатель ставит их от себя, как бы извлекая их из самого текста. [Мандельштам, "Выпад"; II:273⁹]

In other words, to decipher the message of Mandel'shtam's text it is frequently necessary to operate at the level of the subtext in which the elements under investigation are contiguous, or at the level of the total context, or both, since the corpus of Mandel'shtam's poetry and prose manifests such unity and wealth of intertextual relations as to make any analysis of separate texts, without 'cross-references', virtually impossible.

The aim of these introductory remarks was to demonstrate that the so-called 'cipher' (зашифрованность) is not a consequence of external censorship and repression, as some critics believe, but the very essence of Mandel'shtam's poetic method. Searching for crude and topical political allegories in Mandel'shtam's poetry is as futile scientifically as it is insulting to the memory of the poet, who scorned the slavishness of Aesopian tongue and expressed his political judgments openly and unequivocally:

Когда октябрьский нам готовил временщик
Ярмо насилия и злобы,
И ошетинился убийца броневик,
И пулеметчик узколобый... [1917]

Мы живем, под собою не зная страны,
Наши речи на десять шагов не слышны,
А где хватит на полразговорца, —
Там помянут кремлевского горца. [1934]

И над Римом диктатора-выродка
Подбородок тяжелый висит. [1937]

It will be noted that such transparent antonomasia is always derogatory; personages who have the poet's sympathy are identified by name:

Керенского распать потребовал солдат... [1917]

Как Тихон, — ставленник последнего собора... [1918]

У Николая Ивановича [Бухарина. — О. R.]...
["Четвертая проза"]

While Mandel'shtam's purely political poems are, perhaps, his easiest ones, some of his most difficult poems are those which deal with the nature of poetic process and poetic vision,

the social function of poetry, and the relationship between poet and time.

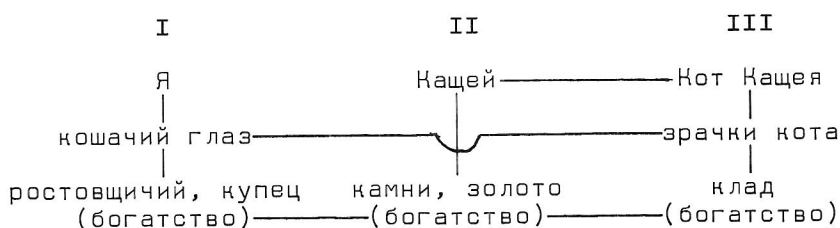
One such poem (No. 303, first published in Воздушные пути, II, 1961, with an apparent misprint in line 4 and a variant reading of line 5) is the subject of our study:

Оттого все неудачи,
 Что я вижу пред собой
 Ростовщичий глаз кошачий —
 Внук он зелени стоячей
 5 И купец травы морской.
 Там, где огненными щами
 Угощается Кащей, —
 С говорящими камнями
 Он на счастье ждет гостей, —
 10 Камни трогает клещами,
 Щиплет золото гвоздей.
 У него в покоех спящих
 Кот живет не для игры —
 У того в зрачках горящих
 15 Клад зажмуренной горы.
 И в зрачках тех леденящих,
 Умоляющих, просящих
 Шароватых искр пиры.

20-30 декабря 1936 г.
 Воронеж.

4 — ВП: Внук от зелени;
 5 — ВП: купец воды морской.

Stanzas I and II have no images in common and are not linked by any anaphoric pronouns. However, they are united by the same semantic field: the field of 'wealth'. Stanza III is linked to II by an anaphoric pronoun, and to Stanza I by the image of the cat's eyes. The following diagram illustrates the basic semantic relationships between the three stanzas:



The asymmetry of this diagram suggests a possible semantic link between я of Stanza I and Кашей of Stanza II at some extra-textual level. The word Кашей occurs in Mandel'stam's corpus only twice. The other instance is No. 223, where the epithet кашеев is applied to Rembrandt's pictures (a good example of combined metaphor — Кашей for Rembrandt — and метониму: Rembrandt for his pictures):

Вхожу в вертепы чудные музеев,
 Где пучатся кашеевы Рембрандты,
 Достигнув блеска кордованской кожи... [1931. Москва]

The meaning of this epithet becomes clear from another poem (No. 330), in which Mandel'shtam compares himself to Rembrandt: both are martyrs of the wealth of their artistic vision, rejected by their age, and both can but embarrass "the generation agitated by the bellows of dusk" with the riches they have to offer.

Как светотени мученик Рембрандт,
Я глубоко ушел в немеющее время,
И резкость моего горящего ребра
Не охраняется ни сторожами теми,
Ни этим воином, что под грозой спят.

Простишь ли ты меня, великолепный брат,
И мастер, и отец чернозеленой теми,
Но око соколиного пера
И жаркие ларцы у полночи в гареме
Смущают не к добру, смущают без добра
Межами сумрака волнуемое племя.

8 февраля 1936 г.
Воронеж.

In his article "Into the Heart of Darkness: Mandel'shtam's Ode to Stalin,"¹⁰ C. Brown mistranslated in part the second stanza of the poem. A correct translation should read:

Will you forgive me, magnificent brother,
and master and father of the black-green dark,
but the eye of the falcon feather
and the glowing caskets in midnight's harem
embarrass [*or*: trouble] to no good, embarrass without
good
the generation agitated by the bellows of dusk.

The metaphor of the last line is based on implied paronomasia (племя — пламя), and the word племя is used by Mandel'shtam in the sense of 'generation' (cf. И с известью в крови, для племени чужого / Ночные травы собирать). "The eye of the falcon feather and the glowing caskets in midnight's harem" are details of Rembrandt's "Ahasuerus, Esther and Haman" (since 1924 in the Puškin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow). Retouched reproductions of this picture (e.g., in both editions of Большая Советская Энциклопедия) clearly show the eyed falcon feather on Haman's turban. Caskets covered with golden brocade are the seat of Esther. It is this display of wealth that apparently embarrasses the visitors of the museum, and Mandel'shtam asks Rembrandt's forgiveness for telling him so. The poet was painfully aware that the new generation had no use for the gifts he was bringing:

Октябрьская революция не могла не повлиять на мою работу, так как отняла у меня "биографию", ощущение личной значимости. Я благодарен ей за то, что она раз навсегда положила конец духовной обеспеченности и существованию на культурную ренту... Чувствую себя должником революции, но приношу ей дары, в которых она пока что не нуждается. ["Поэт о себе", 1928; II: 259]

It will be recalled that an image of unredeemable wealth, potentially dangerous for its owner, appeared in Mandel'shtam's poetry as early as 1912:

Если я на то имею право,
Разменяйте мне мой золотой! [No. 36]

Кощей of the Russian folk tradition is not only a miserly keeper of treasures, but also a chained captive (Афанасьев, Русские народные сказки, No. 159), which is quite consistent with the Old Russian meaning of the word. However, the texts underlying Mandel'shtam's image of Кощей are not folk tales or *bylinas*, but the introduction to Руслан и Людмила (in which, unlike in the folk tale, both Кощей and Cat appear) and Žukovskij's Сказка о царе Берендее:

...Подземельным
Царством владеет Кощей. Он давно уж тебя поджидает
В гости...

...Кощей сидит на престоле в светлой короне;
Блещут глаза, как два изумруда; руки с клешнями...

Expectation of guests is a common motive in the poetry of almost all literary exiles, including Puškin (cf. in particular "Стрекотуня белобок"), and the "guests" of the Voronež poems are not to be confused with дорогие гости of "Ленинград" (No. 191; Dec. 1930). Mandel'shtam develops the motive of patient and contemplative expectation in the two versions of his 'Buddha' poem, written in December, 1936, (the first line of both variants, No. 295 and No. 296, echoes Dante's description of the statue of Time: Dentro dal monte sta dritto un gran veglio. — Inferno. XIV: 103). These poems have several images in common with the Кощей poem:

Внутри горы бездействует кумир
В покоях бережных, безбрежных и счастливых
А с шеи каплет ожерелий жир,
Оберегая сна приливы и отливы... [No. 295]

Он улыбается своим широким ртом
И начинает жить, когда приходят гости. [No. 296]

Yet another image of guests, linked with the theme of ideal reader (Baratynskij's читатель в потомстве), appears in a later Voronež poem (dated 15 March, 1937):

Чистых линий пучки благодарные,
Собираемы тонким лучом,
Соберутся, сойдутся когда-нибудь,
Словно гости с открытым челом. [No. 346]

Some autobiographical remarks of Mandel'shtam provide an exact clue to the meaning of Kaščeј's mysterious possessions — the golden nails and the talking stones:

Я тогда собирал гвозди: нелепешая коллекционерская причуда. Я пересыпал кучи гвоздей, как скупой рыцарь, и радовался, как растет мое колючее богатство.

["Хаос иудейский"; II: 105]

Cf. also:

...моя шуба висела бы на золотом гвозде.

["Четвертая проза"; II: 222]

Obviously the golden nails of Кащей are a calculatedly ambivalent metaphor of wealth. While Mandel'shtam's metonymies are sometimes misidentified as metaphors (see above), his metaphors are occasionally interpreted as metonymies. I. Činnov¹¹, who categorically asserts that Кащей is Stalin, has identified the golden nails as gilded buttons on the uniforms of Stalin's associates ("the talking stones!"): no doubt, a poetic prophecy on the part of Mandel'shtam, seeing that such buttons were introduced in the Red Army exactly six years later.

Pace Igor Činnov, Mandel'shtam did not use the word камень in the negative sense: "Он вещества не укорял / За медленность и постоянство", to quote S. Gorodeckij's poem dedicated to him. Nor did he associate "mineral images" with "terror and death," as C. Brown presumes (loc. cit., p. 591). On the contrary, he often associated these images with what he loved and treasured most, the poetic word:

Минералогическая коллекция — прекраснейший органический комментарий к Данту.

Позволю себе маленькое автобиографическое признание. Черноморские камушки, выбрасываемые приливом, оказали мне немалую помощь, когда созревала концепция этого разговора. Я откровенно советовался с халцедонами, сердоликами, кристаллическими гипсами, шпатами, кварцами и т.д. Тут я понял, что камень как бы дневник погода, как бы метеорологический сгусток...

[Разговор 'о Данте, стр. 53; ср.: "Грифельная ода"]

Владимир Соловьев¹² испытывал особый пророческий ужас перед седыми финскими валунами. Немое красноречие гранитной глыбы волновало его, как злое колдовство. Но камень Тютчева, что "с горы скатившись, лег в долине, сорвавшись сам или низвергнут мыслящей рукой" — есть слово. Голос материи в этом неожиданном падении звучит, как членораздельная речь. На этот вызов можно ответить только архитектурой. Акмеисты с благоговением поднимают таинственный тютчевский камень и кладут его в основу своего здания.

["Утро акмеизма"; II:364]

In January, 1937, Mandel'shtam returns to this theme in two poems:

Как землю где-нибудь небесный камень будит, —
Упал опальный стих, не знающий отца;
Неумолимое — находка для творца —
Не может быть другим — никто его не судит. [No. 318]

[The subtext here is Lermontov's "Как в ночь звезды падучей пламень / не нужен в мире я"]

И не с кем посоветоваться мне,
А сам найду его едва ли —
Таких прозрачных, плачущих камней
Нет ни в Крыму, ни на Урале.

Народу нужен стих таинственно-родной,
Чтоб от него вечно просыпался
И льянюкудрую каштановой волной —
Его звучаньем умывался. [No. 321]

The sound texture of the poem under investigation does not enter the narrow scope of our study. However, one aspect of this texture is important for our purposes because the specific information it bears has been pointed out by the poet himself. In addition to saturating the text with stridents, Mandel'shtam cultivates the opposition grave/acute, consistently in the same sequence, in such words as глаз, кошачий, купец, угощается, нашей, говорящими, гостей, клещами, гвоздей, кот, горящих, клад, etc. The symbolic value he attributed to stridency and acuteness is revealed in his essay on Vl. Gippius:

...вся сила его (Гиппиуса) личности заключалась в энергии и артикуляции его речи. У него было бессознательное влечение к шипящим и свистящим звукам и "т" в окончании слов. Выражаясь по-ученому, пристрастие к дентальным и небным.

С легкой руки В. В. и поныне я мыслю ранний символизм, как густые заросли этих "щ". "Надо мной орлы, орлы говорящие". Итак мой учитель отдавал предпочтение патриархальным и воинственным согласным звукам боли и нападения, обиды и самозащиты...

["В не по чину барственной шубе"; II: 143]

In his analysis of Inferno XXXII, Mandel'shtam describes the onomatopoeic aspect of such sound texture:

Тридцать вторая песнь по темпу современное скерцо. Но какое? Анатомическое скерцо, изучающее дегенерацию речи на звукоподражательном инфантильном материале.

Тут вскрывается новая связь — еда и речь. Постыдная речь обратима вспять, обращена назад — к чавканью, укусу, бульканью — к жвачке.

Артикуляция еды и речи почти совпадают. Создается странный саранчовый фонетика:

Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna...

[Разговор о Данте, стр. 45-46]

The subject of food and shameful speech brings us to Kaščej's 'огненные щи', reverberating throughout Stanzas II and III. The only other instance of this word being used by Mandel'shtam can be found in Путешествие в Армению (II: 180):

В кооперативной столовой, такой же бревенчатой и — минхерц-петровской, как и всё в Норадузе, кормили вповалку густыми артельными щами из баранины.

The underlined adjectives and adverbs form a context that may be relevant in view of what will be said below concerning the polemical point of Mandel'shtam's poem. Путешествие в Армению was written for publication, which explains the subdued tone of its social themes. Elsewhere, Mandel'shtam's images of 'hot liquid food' *always* belong to the negative semantic field and always have the general meaning of collective, shared misfortune, guilt and shame:

...А она мне соленых грибков
Вынимает в горшке из-под нар,
А она из ребячьих пупков

Подает мне горячий отвар.

[No. 200. Cf.: Н. Клюев, "Погорельщина" for the theme of cannibalism]

И сознание свое затоваривая
Полуобморочным бытием,
Я ль без выбора пью это варево,
Свою голову ем под огнем?

["Стихи о неизвестном солдате", No. 347-7]

Петербург объявил себя Нероном и был так мерзок,
словно ел похлебку из раздавленных мух.

["Египетская марка"; II: 57]

...если хлебнуть этого варева притушенной жизни,
замешанной на густом собачьем лае и посоленной
звездами, — физически ясным становилось ощущение
спустившейся на мир чумы...

["Старухина птица"; II: 156]

Such, then, is the wealth of Кашей: a child's collection of nails, a poet's collection of minerals, and a share in the common disaster.

The important item remaining to be deciphered in this text is the cat, or rather the cat's eye, since the cat that appears in Stanza III is largely a metonymic development — as well as a reference to the main subtext of the poem: the Introduction to Руслан и Людмила (кот ученый). This subtext clearly links the cat with the gift of poetic narration. In folk tales (as well as in Žukovskij's adaptation of Perrault's fairy tale), the cat is often an oxymoronic image of poverty/wealth (or, more precisely, доля/недоля): the youngest brother inherits nothing but a cat, who eventually brings him wealth and happiness; a merchant buys a cat for three kopecks and sells it at enormous profit in a country where cats are unknown. In the poem under consideration, too, the cat is obviously a source of wealth: his eye is a usurer and a merchant; his pupils contain a hidden treasure. Thus the theme of vision is emphasized here: it is the vision of the cat, rather than the cat itself, that is part of Kaščej's wealth — and of his misery.

The image of the cat's eye as a 'magic crystal' in Stanza I has a double meaning. An amateur mineralogist fascinated by crystallography (of which he speaks eloquently in Разговор о Данте), Mandel'stam was, no doubt, familiar with 'кошачий глаз' (cat's eye, oeil de chat): a semiprecious variety of quartz (in Russia, this stone occurs only near Zlatoust, but the green variety of chalcedony pebbles common in Koktebel is often called cat's eye by amateur collectors¹³). A recurrent image of Mandel'stam's Armenian cycle is the precious stone as a magnifying glass, e.g., in XII: Как близорукий шах над перстнем бирюзовым (cf.: цветные стекла in No. 285). Elsewhere, too, images of quartz are frequent metaphors of the eye:

...синяя кварцевая хмури его очей... [II: 182]

Чтение натуралистов... выпрямляет глаз и сообщает
душе минеральное кварцевое спокойствие. [II: 200]

...чешуйки рыбы подмигивали пластиночками кварца. [II: 179]
Fish scales, in their turn, are transformed into eyes:

Что если Ариост и Тассо, обворажающие нас,
Чудовища с лазерным мозгом и чешуей из влажных глаз.

[No. 240]

Exploiting the homonymy, Mandel'shtam is able to combine in a single image references to two fields from which he often borrows his metaphors of poetic perception: mineralogy and physiology of vision. The theme of vision in his poetry is a vast one: his eye images form a context ranging from the insect eye, described with anatomic precision (бокальчатый глаз is the scientific term for what Mandel'shtam calls наливные рюмочки in "Ламарк") to the eye of the Child Jesus (No. 309, apparently inspired by Leonardo's Madonna Litta). Often the poet expresses a desire to look at the world through the prism of an alien eye, or even through the ocelli of a butterfly wing (cf. око соколиного пера in the Rembrandt poem):

Головка [бабочки] незначительная, кошачья.

Ее глазастые крылья были из прекрасного старого
адмиралского шелка, который побывал и в Чесме
и при Трафальгаре.

И вдруг я поймал себя на диком желании взглянуть
на природу нарисованными глазами этого
чудовища.

[Путешествие в Армению; II: 201]

...И можно из бабочек крапа
Рисунки слагать на стенах.
Бывают мечети живые,
И я догадался сейчас:
Быть может, мы — Айя-София
С бесчисленными множеством глаз.

[No. 252]

In another poem (No. 331), Mandel'shtam identifies his own vision with that of rapacious wasps (see: K.F. Taranovski, loc. cit., pp. 1994-1995).

The type of vision ascribed by the poet to cat's eye is defined by the epithet ростовщичий, which carries no negative value in Mandel'shtam's poetic lexicon. The following two texts explain its metaphoric meaning:

Я люблю военные бинокли
С ростовщической силой зренья...

["Канцона", No. 207]

...глаз — орган обладающий акустикой, наращивающий ценность образа, помножающий свои достижения на чувственные обиды, с которыми он носителю, как с писанной торбой...

[Путешествие в Армению; II: 199]

Evidently, cat's eye magnifies the detail (at the expense of the whole, as physiologists tell us). In such poetic vision, combining the wealth of detail with the lack of general perspective (cf. the thematically related No. 291: Я в сердце века —

путь неясен), Mandel'st'am perceives the cause of his misfortunes: Оттого все неудачи.

The opposite pole of Mandel'st'am's 'vision' context is the bird's eye, described in Разговор о Данте

Песнь двадцать шестая... вводит нас в анатомию дантовского глаза столь естественно приспособленного лишь для вскрытия самой структуры будущего времени. У Данта была зрительная аккомодация хищных птиц, не приспособленная к ориентации на малом радиусе: слишком большой охотничий участок.

Mandel'st'am tries out this type of vision in a poem written during the same month of December, 1936 (No. 304):

Мой щегол, я голову закину —
Поглядим на мир вдвоем:
Зимний день, колючий, как мякина,
Так ли жесток в зрачке твоём?

Children and birds of Mandel'st'am look into the distant future. Yet the 'metonymic' vision of the cat is the source of artistic wealth. The "value of the image" perceived through the cat's eye increases at three stages:

Внук он <u>зелени стоячей</u>	Ср.: Пришел невод с одною тиной
И купец <u>травы морской</u> ...	Пришел невод с травой морскою
У того в зрачках горящих	
<u>Клад</u> зажмуренной горы...	Пришел невод с золотою рыбкой

This is hardly a chance parallelism. In a North Russian variant of the goldfish tale¹⁴, the magic animal granting a succession of wishes is the Cat with the Golden Forehead (Коток Золотой Лобок), who lives under ground. On the other hand, the fishing net is a not uncommon metaphor of the eye.

Зелень стоячая and трава морская are primarily visual similes referring to the green eye of the cat. Mandel'st'am, who consistently discards the worn-off traditional forms of metaphor, often uses kinship terms virtually in the sense of comparative conjunctions. In one of his mineralogical poems (No. 286), in order to decipher the image муравьиный брат — агат, one should turn not to Tolstoj's муравейные братья, but to a passage in "Египетская марка": "А черные блестящие муравьи... влачили боевые дольки еще неразрубленного тела, вихляя сильным агатовым задом." Купец, likewise, is an index of similarity: "Если присмотреться — и купец похож на свой товар..." ("Сухаревка"; II: 172).

However, there is more to the image of the sea weed than its color. Mandel'st'am, in his later poems, came to associate with it the bitterness and falsity of both life (житейское море) and art (cf.: ненужной раковины ложь in Камень):

Длинней органных фуг, горька морей трава
Ложноволосая, и пахнет долгой ложью.

[No. 328]

Зажмуренная гора, the treasure of poetic vision, echoes an image from No. 439 (1925; II: 17):

Есть за куколем дворцовым
И за кипенем садовым

Заресничная страна —
Там ты будешь мне жена.

Умоляющий — another epithet of the cat's eye — is repeated in No. 309 to describe the eye of the deified infant: Светлый, радужный, бесплотный, / Умоляющий пока...

The imagery of the final line is purely visual: шароватых искр пиры. Sparks and feasts are apparently linked by the semantic field 'shining,' 'bright' (as are Янтарь, пожары и пиры in No. 99).

It appears that all the images of the poem under investigation can be deciphered on the basis of their total context and several underlying texts. One problem, however, still needs clarification: what prompted Mandel'shtam to describe himself in the guise of Нащей, a traditionally negative figure?

Several poems written by Mandel'shtam in the early 'thirties testify to the profound sympathy he felt toward the victims of collectivization. One of these poems (No. 200) has already been quoted in connection with огненные щи. Others (dated 1933) were more outspoken:

Природа своего не узнает лица,
А тени страшные — Украины, Кубани...
Как в туфлях войлочных, голодные крестьяне
Калитку стерегут, не трогая кольца. [No. 241]

У нашей святой молодежи
Хорошие песни в крови:
На баюшки-баю похожи,
И баю борьбу объяви.
И я за собой примечаю
И что-то такое ловлю:
Колхозного бая качаю,
Кулацкого пая пою. [No. 244]

The same motive is prominent in "Четвертая проза": Мужик припрятал в амбаре рожь — убей его!

In "Стансы" (No. 279; 1935), the exiled poet's declaration of solidarity with his country and people, Mandel'shtam again identified himself with the peasant:

Но, как в колхоз идет единоличник,
Я в мир вхожу, и люди хороши.

Mandel'shtam's attitudes may have changed, but not the methods of "our holy youth." In the March, 1936 issue of Новый мир, Boris Kornilov published a long poem on collectivization, entitled Изгнание (1930 г.). Its first two lines read: "Чего еще? Плохая шутка / с тобою сыграна, Кощей", — and the rest could only be described as a disgusting dance over the body of the dead enemy. We are not concerned here with the motives that prompted the young communist poet, later himself a victim of the great purge, to publish this poem in 1936, when kulaks had already been liquidated. But it is easy to imagine the reaction of the exiled Mandel'shtam. He defiantly identified himself with Нащей, in his bitter answer to those who, out of animal fear, as he said in "Четвертая проза," "строчит доносы, бьет по лежащим, требует казни для пленников."

Yet the oxymoronic images of inner wealth and outer poverty

appeared again in a poem of quite different tonality, written by Mandel'shtam only a few weeks later. Significantly, the subtext of line 10 of this poem is the proverb which Mandel'shtam quoted in the last sentence of "Четвертая проза":

Еще не умер ты, еще ты не один,
 Покуда с нищенкой подругой
 Ты наслаждаешься величием равнин
 И мглой, и голодом, и вьюгой.

В роскошной бедности, в могучей нищете
 Живи спокоен и утешен —
 Благословенны дни и ночи те
 И сладкогласный труд безгрешен.

Несчастлив тот, кого, как тень его,
 Пугает лай собак и ветер косит,
 И беден тот, кто сам полуживой,
 У тени милостыни просит.

Notes

1. Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in: Essays in the Language of Literature (Boston, 1967), p. 319; "The Metaphoric and Metonymic Poles," in: Fundamentals of Language (s'Gravenhage, 1956), pp. 76-82.
2. Cf.: Б. Ейхенбаум, Анна Ахматова (Пбг., 1923), pp. 109-110.
3. N. Å. Nilsson, "Ship Metaphors in Mandel'shtam's Poetry," in: To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, 11 October, 1966 (s'Gravenhage, 1967), pp. 1438-1439.
4. The concept of subtext and context was developed by Professor Kiril Taranovski in his article "Пчелы и осы в поэзии Мандельштама" (To Honor Roman Jakobson, 1967, pp. 1973-1995), and in his lectures and seminars. I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Taranovski, who directs my studies in Poetics, for his advice and criticism, as well as for numerous ideas which he shared with me during the past two years.
5. L. Aragon (Les collages, Paris, 1965, p. 149) describes quotation as a species of literary collage and comments on the ambivalent relationship between collage and realism, i.e. the trend based on metonymy, as follows: "L'histoire de collages sans doute n'est pas celle du réalisme, mais l'histoire du réalisme ne pourra demain s'écrire sans celle des collages."
6. Печать и революция, VIII, 1922.
7. О. Мандельштам, Разговор о Данте (Москва, 1967), p. 11.
8. В. В. Иванов, "Структура стихотворения Хлебникова 'Меня проносят на слоновых...'", Труды по знаковым системам, III (Тарту, 1967). Professor K. Taranovski (oral communication) describes the respective poetic methods of Xlebnikov and Mandel'shtam as follows:

Xlebnikov had two main poetic methods. In one, which followed from the principle of самовитое слово and слово как таковое, the poetic message is based on the sound texture information (dark/bright and, perhaps, compact/diffuse) and on the semantic fields of neologisms (+/-). Cf. : М. В. Панов, "О восприятии звуков", in: Развитие фонетики современного русского языка (Москва, 1966), pp. 155-162. But most of Xlebnikov's works are probably based on ciphered subtexts (зашифрованные подтексты), as Ivanov has demonstrated for "Меня проносят". Mandel'shtam's principal method, at least in Камень and Tristia was the latter.

9. Poem numbers (No.), or, for prose, volume and page numbers refer to: О. Мандельштам, Собрание сочинений в двух томах (Washington, 1964, 1966).
10. Slavic Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, Dec. 1967, pp. 584-604.
11. Новый журнал, Vol. 88, 1967, pp. 125-137.
12. The reference is to Solov'ev's poem "Колдун-Камень" (Вл. Соловьев, Стихотворения, СПб., 1900, pp. 78-79).
13. Koktebel stones are described in detail in А. Ферсман, Драгоценные и цветные камни России (Пгд., 1920) and П. Двойченко, Минералы Крыма (СПб., 1914).
14. Обзор русского народного быта Северного края, Vol. I (comp. by А. Е. Burcev) (SPb., 1902), p. 237.

THE POETICS OF PROVERBS

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*Language must be investigated
in all the variety of its
functions.*

Roman Jakobson
"Linguistics and Poetics"¹

Language is a semiotic system with many functions. Although it serves primarily to transmit information, its other functions are also of interest to the student of language. Among them is the poetic function. In his paper "Linguistics and Poetics" Roman Jakobson defines the poetic function of language as "the set (*Einstellung*) toward the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake."² He indicates further that this function is not limited to poetry as such. The proverb is a good illustration of this thesis, and the various manifestations of the poetic function within the proverb constitute the subject of the present study.³

In the type of verbal art we are examining we see the maximum of condensation and, simultaneously, of intensification. The complementary devices of ellipsis, which reduces redundancy, and parallelism, which increases it, serve to form a message that is maximally effective because of its brevity and conciseness. Here we shall discuss particular devices used to construct proverbs, especially ellipsis, binary structure and parallelism. The last mentioned is particularly rich in variants; we shall be dealing here with phonological, morphological and syntactic parallelism; with proverb-patterns; with rhyme and related phenomena; with vowel harmony and with paronomasia.

Ellipsis reduces redundancy by eliminating those elements of the message that are highly predictable or that carry little information. Thus, for example, forms of the copula are often omitted. A proverb like

Małżeństwo – męczeństwo. [Marriage – torture.]

would read in a fuller version

Małżeństwo to jest męczeństwo. [Marriage is torture.]

We see a similar construction in the Latin

Vox populi, vox Dei. [Voice of the people, voice
of God.]

and in the French

Chose défendue, chose désirée. [Something forbidden, something desired.]

Often what is omitted is not one verb, the one that would be the axis of symmetry of the proverb, but, for example, two, which facilitates greater complication in structure. Thus the proverb

Przyjaźń przyjaźnią a interes [Friendship [is] friendship,
interese. but business [is] business.]

Cf. the English

As the tree, so the fruit.

In many cases it is not an auxiliary verb but a lexical one that is missing. E.g.

P. Nim z bogatego puch, to z [Before down from a rich man,
ubogiego duch. the soul from a poor man.]

Adalberg, the collector of Polish proverbs, explains: "domyślny wyraz: wylezie" ('the word understood: will crawl out').⁴ This is not, however, the only possibility of expanding this proverb and that is just the essence of the poetic device used here. In

Like will to like.

the auxiliary *will* indicates only future tense. There is no lexical verb, but various ones could be supplied: *come*, *be attracted*. Cf. similar constructions of spoken language: P. *Czas do domu*, R. Мне пора домой, G. *Ich muss nach Hause*. The verb is also omitted in such proverbs as

P. Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubie. [As Kuba (Jim) to God, so God
to Kuba.]

R. Из крошек кучка, из капель [From crumbs a heap, from
море. drops an ocean.]

Sometimes the missing verb would be redundant for more important reasons. In an example like

Young saint, old sinner.

the addition of a verb, say, *become*, would not help; the meaning of the proverb is clear without it. Moreover destruction of the parallelism would weaken the effect of the proverb. Positional contiguity here, the occurrence alongside one another of the elements *young saint* and *old sinner* implies semantic contiguity as well. We find a similar suggestion of a semantic connection between analogously constructed elements in the French proverb

Autres temps, autres moeurs. [Other times, other manners.]

Sometimes the use of ellipsis leads to generalizations. Those features are omitted that would give the proverb greater concreteness. For example in

If one will not, another will.

we might speak about a "zero archiverb," just as in phonology one speaks of archiphonemes and zero phonemes. That is to say that the features characterizing various classes of lexical verbs have been neutralized and we know (by the presence of *will*) only that some verb must be added; we know neither what particular verb nor what type of verb. Thus the proverb may be applied in the most various contexts. Sometimes the possibilities of choice are grammatically limited. For example the Russian proverb cited above cannot be expanded by adding a transitive verb.

In many cases an elliptical construction results not from the omission of a concrete word or group of verbs, but because of a change in the "principles of combination." Normally the rules of syntax provide the basis for joining words in a message. In certain cases these rules are replaced by a rule of concatenation. Equivalent elements, i.e. here, elements that syntactically are mutually substitutable, follow one another without syntactic justification. As Jakobson writes: "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection

into the axis of combination. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence."⁵ The equivalent elements may be simple, for example single words, as in

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------|
| R. | Сказано — сделано. | [Said — done.] |
| F. | Vieillesse, tristesse. | [Age, sadness.] |
| I. | Traduttore, traditore. | [Translator, betrayer.] |

or simple noun phrases, as in
Hot love, hasty vengeance.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| L. | Summum ius, summa iniuria. | [Excess of justice, excess of injustice.] |
|----|----------------------------|---|

or other simple parts of a sentence, as in
Out of sight, out of mind.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| P. | Łatwo przyszło, łatwo poszło. | [Easy came, easy went.] |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------|

They may also have a more complicated structure, as in
First come, first served.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| P. | Bez pieniędzy do targu, bez soli do domu. | [Without money to the market, without salt home.] |
| Y. | Oysn, veynik; inen, gornit. | [Outside, little; inside, nothing at all.] |

The last proverb also constitutes a play on words; the first half is similar to the word *oysveytnik* 'by heart'.

A notable feature of almost all the examples quoted is their binary structure, the second method of poetic organization of the proverb. Such a structure can be observed in a large number of proverbs--in almost all elliptical proverbs. In addition to the numerous examples with simple binary structure, we meet also proverbs such as

A cherry year, a merry year; a plum year, a dumb year.

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| P. | Jaka woda, taki młyn; jaki ojciec, taki syn. | [Like water, like mill; like father, like son.] |
| R. | Где мило, там глаза; где больно, там рука. | [Where [it is] pleasant, there [are the] eyes; where [it is] painful, there [is the] hand.] |

with a double binary structure; proverbs such as

Messmate before shipmate; shipmate before a stranger;
stranger before a dog.

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| P. | Co słyszysz, nie mów, co mówisz, nie pisz, co piszesz nie drukuj. | |
| | [What you hear, don't speak; what you speak, don't write; what you write, don't print.] | |

R. В двадцать лет ума нет и не будет, в тридцать лет жены нет и не будет, в сорок лет денег нет и не будет.

[At twenty [he] has no brains and won't have, at thirty [he] has no wife and won't have, at forty [he] has no money and won't have.]

with a triple binary structure; and even proverbs such as

Long and lazy, little and loud, fat and fulsome, pretty and proud.

with a quadruple binary structure.

If a proverb has a binary structure, then it is easy to make use of parallelism, which increases redundancy. We observe such parallelism on all levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic. Parallelism is the realization of the principle mentioned above that equivalence is the constitutive device of the sequence. Thus a binary structure almost always consists of two syntactically equivalent elements, i.e. of two mutually substitutable elements. In other words the structure of one half of the proverb is parallel to the structure of the other half. Morphological and phonological parallelism between the two parts strengthens the feeling of equivalence, and therefore also the suggested semantic similarity.

The last example cited, "Long and lazy...", is particularly rich in parallelism. It consists of four pairs of adjectives, with the elements of each pair connected by the conjunction *and*. The first four adjectives begin with a liquid /l/; the four remaining ones begin with front, peripheral consonants (diffuse, low tonality consonants according to the Jakobsonian distinctive features). Within each pair the alliteration is exact: /l/ with /l/ in the first two pairs; /f/ with /f/ in the third and /pr/ with /pr/ in the last. The last word in the first half (*loud*) rhymes with the last word in the second half (*proud*).

If we count the syllables in each word, we get for the first pair 1-1-2 and for the second pair the opposite, 2-1-1. The second half of the proverb repeats this pattern, so for the whole proverb we get 1-1-2=2-1-1=1-1-2=2-1-1. There is similar parallelism with the stresses, which are distributed in the following way:

'--- | '--- || '--- | '---.

Finally within each pair the first adjective refers to appearance, the second to character.

What is the result of using all these devices? Within each pair the juxtaposition of two otherwise unrelated adjectives gives the impression of semantic contiguity, i.e. one feels the existence of some close relationship (perhaps logical implication) between the two adjectives. Parallelism strengthens that feeling. Parallelism between the pairs effectively creates a semantic proportion. Thus long : lazy = little : loud = fat : fulsome = pretty : proud. Similarly long : little = lazy : loud etc.

The juxtaposition of parallel elements suggests analogies and comparisons that are not explicitly expressed. We observe such an effect in the Yiddish proverb

Es iz nito keyn shlekhter bronfn far a shiker, keyn shlekhte matbeye far a soykher, un keyn miyese nekeyve far a noyef.

[There is no bad brandy for a drunkard, no bad money for a merchant, and no ugly wench for a libertine.]

Here there is no explicitly expressed comparison of the drunkard, the merchant and the libertine, but the very structure of the proverb makes such a suggestion.

We may distinguish three basic functions of parallelism. The first, the "esthetic" function, consists in organizing the proverb on the basis of symmetry. The second, the "semantic" function, suggests analogies and comparisons by the juxtaposition of elements in parallel constructions. The third function is a kind of syntactic "crystallization," a uniting of the elements of the proverb into a cohesive, concise whole. Because of this property the proverb effectively communicates its content and is easily remembered. Ellipsis also serves this third function. In fact ellipsis and parallelism are strongly related; parallelism appears most clearly in the most elliptical proverbs.

Of course the kind of rich and complicated parallelism that we have just seen in the English example does not occur in all proverbs. Let us however examine some further examples in order to become better acquainted with the important role that parallelism plays in proverbs.

Sometimes the parallelism is so exact that the two halves are almost identical. In such proverbs as

L. *Littera docet, littera nocet.* [The letter teaches, the letter harms.]

G. *Einmal ist keinmal.* [Once is never.]

The poorer the church, the purer the church.

the parts are distinguished by one phoneme /dʌn, øʌk, øʌj/. In
No mill, no meal.

there is a difference of only one distinctive feature (tense/lax). The striking phonological parallelism of these examples is strengthened by the morphological equivalences between the "minimal pairs": *docet/nocet, einmal/keinmal, poorer/purer, mill/meal*.

Let us now consider morphological parallelism. Here we may distinguish two subtypes: inflectional parallelism and derivational parallelism. In the proverbs

R. *Тише едешь, дальше будешь.* [[If] you go slower, you'll be farther.]

Č. *Ptáka po peří, vlka po srsti, člověka po řeči poznáš.* [You will recognize a bird by its feathers, a wolf by its coat, a man by his speech.]

the parallelism is based on the identity of endings or of inflectional categories. In the Russian proverb two adverbs in the comparative degree are opposed to one another, as are two verbs in the second person singular. In the Czech proverb each part consists of a string: animate noun of the masculine declension in the genitive/accusative + the preposition *po* + inanimate noun of the non-masculine declension in the dative.

Derivational parallelism is based on the repetition of derivational elements: roots, prefixes, suffixes. In the proverb

- P. Abo się popraw, abo się odpraw. [Either improve or leave.]

the difference between the two halves consists entirely in the change of prefix: both *popraw* and *odpraw* are forms of the imperative and are derived from the same root. In

- F. Voir est facile, prévoir est difficile. [To see is easy, to foresee is difficult.]

we once again have the repetition of roots, but this time the opposition is between the presence and the absence of prefixes. In the first part of the proverb both words are unprefixes, in the second they acquire prefixes. In

Forewarned is forearmed.

the prefix is the same in both parts but the roots are different. Cf. the highly paronomastic Latin version of the same proverb:

Praemonitus, praemunitus.

In both versions there is the functional equation of two passive participles used as adjectives. Thus we also have syntactic parallelism. In the Yiddish proverb

Pach zikh nit in baykhele, ven fishele iz nokh in taykhele.

[Don't pat your stomach when the fish is still in the river.]

diminutive suffixes are repeated.

Morphological and syntactic parallelism are strongly connected with one another. A parallel syntactic structure of the various parts of a proverb usually entails the use of morphologically similar elements. As we can see from the Yiddish proverb just discussed, the converse is not necessarily true. Further examples of syntactic (and hence also morphological) parallelism include

- P. Słodko się pije, gorzko się płaci. [One drinks sweetly, one pays bitterly.]
- Y. Hostu — halt, veystu — shvayg, kenstu — tu. [You have — hold on, you know — keep silent, you can — do.]
- R. Чужой дурак — смех, а свой дурак — стыд. [Someone else's fool [means] laughter, your own fool, shame.]

Parallelism serves very effectively to create contrasts. The juxtaposition of two obviously different elements strengthens, sharpens the contrast. For example in

Man proposes, God disposes.

the obvious formal (and semantic) difference between the partially similar final elements of each half (*proposes/disposes*) emphasizes the semantic contrast between the initial elements of the two halves. Similarly with the Russian proverb

Бедность плачет, богатство скачет. [Poverty cries, richness skips.]

Each part of the French proverb

Grand vanteur, petit [Great boaster, little doer.]
faiseur.

consists of an adjective + agent noun. We thus have exact syntactic and morphological parallelism. Since the adjectives are antonyms, a strong opposition is created between the nouns contiguous to them.

Sometimes parallelism leads to a chiasitic structure, one of the form a-b-b-a. We have already seen one such example:

P. Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg
 Kubie.

Other examples:

F. Celui qui veut être jeune quand il est vieux, doit être
 vieux quand il est jeune.

[He who wants to be young when he is old must be old when
he is young.]

R. Не место красит человека, а человек место.

[It's not the position that adorns the man, but the man,
the position.]

Y. Az es makht zikh nit, vi men vil, muz men velen, vi es
 makht zikh.

[If things don't work out the way you want, you have to
want the way they work out.]

F. A jeune homme — vieux cheval, à cheval jeune — vieil homme.

[For a young man, an old horse, for a young horse, an old
man.]

In talking about parallelism so far we have discussed various types and given individual concrete examples of each type. There exist also certain constructions with parallel structure that fit various concrete proverbs and that might be called "proverb patterns." These are certain conjunctive elements that are more or less on the margins of normal syntax. For example Polish

Jaki..., taki...

constitutes a pattern according to which one can "generate," create already existing proverbs as well as new, constructed ad hoc pseudoproverbs. To the first category of already existing proverbs belong

Jaki ojciec, taki syn. Like father, like son.

Jaki pan, taki kram. As is the master, so is the
booth.

To the second category belong such literary constructions as

Taki wieszcz, jaki słuchacz. As is the listener, so is
the poet.

from the Mickiewicz sonnet "Ekskuza" or

Tacy poeci, jaka jest As is the public, so are the
publiczność. poets.

from Asnyk's poem "Publiczność i poeci." Cf. the French construction *tel... tel...* as in

Tel père, tel fils. [Like father, like son.]

or English *like... like...* (It should be noted that this construction is much less common in English than in Polish or French.)

Examples of similar patterns include

The more, the merrier

P. Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubie.

L. Quot capita, tot sensus. [So many heads, so many opinions.]

R. Сколько голов, столько умов. [The same]

P. Im dalej w las, tym więcej drzew. [The further into the forest, the more trees.]

All these constructions are "on the margins of normal syntax" in the sense that they form sentences without verbs. With the help of such elements a message with parallel syntactic and morphological structure is constructed. The phonetic similarity (or even identity) of the elements (*jaki/taki, jak/tak, tel/tel, сколько/столько, the/the, quot/tot, im/tym* etc.) strongly emphasizes this parallelism.

Among our examples of parallelism and ellipsis we have already seen several rhyming proverbs. Rhyme, a very common phenomenon in proverbs, is also a type of phonological parallelism. Examples may be cited from every language exemplified here:

Without pains, no gains.

P. Nie ma ryby bez ości, nie ma baby bez złości. [There is no fish without bones, there is no woman without malice.]

F. Aujourd'hui en fleurs, demain en pleurs. [Today in flowers, tomorrow in tears.]

R. Поживёшь подольше, узнаёшь побольше. [You'll live a little longer, you'll learn a little more.]

Y. Eyns iz keyns. [One is none.]

L. Qualis rex, talis grex. [As the king is, so is his flock.]

G. Bist du schuldig, sei geduldig. [If you're guilty, be patient.]

Internal rhyme also occurs:

F. Tout pain est sain à qui a faim. [Any bread is healthy for him who is hungry.]

Y. Beyn-kakh uveyn-kakh hot men nit v-renkakh. [In the meantime you have nothing on hand.]

We see also partial rhymes, such as assonance:

P. Jaki długi, taki głupi. [As stupid as he is long.]

and consonance:

Past cure, past care.

- Y. Ven me lebt fun der pushke [When one lives from the
 iz leydig di kishke. charity box, the belly is
 empty.]

The English proverb just cited indicates that alliteration is a phonemic, rather than phonetic, phenomenon; the two instances of the phoneme /k/ are phonetically quite different.

Finally let us add two more elements to our catalogue of poetic devices (especially phonological ones) that are used in proverbs. We notice proverbs in which only one and the same vowel or only one series of vowels appears. This phenomenon might be called vowel harmony. Thus in the Russian proverb

- Доброму вору всё в пору. [For a good thief everything
 goes just right.]

we have only rounded vowels. The Polish proverbs

- Co rok, to prorok. [Every year a child.]
Jaka praca, taka płaca. [As is the work, so is the
 pay.]

contain only the vowels o and a, respectively.

There remains the matter of paronomasia: the juxtaposition of phonetically similar words in order to produce a play on words. For example

- L. Amicus certus in re incerta [A true friend is revealed
 cernitur. in misfortune.]
Y. A melokhe iz a melukhe, ober [A job is marvelous, but one
 men hot nit keyn minut doesn't have a minute of
 menukhe. rest.]
F. L'oeuvre l'ouvrier découvre. [The work reveals the worker.]

In this brief survey of the proverbs of various nations we have seen how this genre utilizes the complementary poetic devices of ellipsis and parallelism to concentrate the addressee's attention on the message itself. Thus the proverb is a poetic utterance *par excellence*. It was the goal of the present study to justify that assertion, as well as its corollary: that the most fruitful approach to the study of proverbs is provided by a linguistically oriented poetics.

Notes

1. In Thomas Seboek, ed., Style in Language (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 353.
2. Ibid., p. 356.
3. This paper is adapted from one presented to the Instytut Badań Literackich of the Cracow branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences. That earlier version owed much to Dr. Zbigniew Siatkowski of IBL, himself a student of Roman Jakobson.

The examples in the present text are accompanied by rather literal English translations. The following symbols are used to identify languages: P. (Polish), R. (Russian), Y. (Yiddish), F. (French), L. (Latin), G. (German), and Č. (Czech).

4. Samuel Adalberg, Księga przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłowych polskich (Warsaw, 1889-94), p. 24.
5. Op. cit., p. 358.

In the schematization of Polish literary history, Maria Pawlikowska is placed under the rubric "Skamander school," an act of classification which affirms that in general terms her poetics were typical of the post-World War I neo-classical trend, the anti-symbolist reaction.¹ But a literary grouping is always and necessarily a more or less loose and general concept, with reference to that which the members have in common, but no information as to that which characterizes them and sets them off as individuals. This is true even when such a grouping is a conscious and deliberate act on the part of the poets themselves, accompanied by manifestos, programmatic works and literary polemic; the Skamander school, while not a pure abstraction imposed by literary historians, was nonetheless a rather loose and informal grouping with no more than an "anti-programmatic" program and with quite significant and broad differences among its members.

When one takes a closer look at Pawlikowska, then, to determine what specific features distinguish her from her fellow Skamanderites, one of the first traits that strikes one is her strong preference for the lyrical miniature. While she did write a number of longer pieces, comparatively few of her poems exceed twelve lines. The collection Pocałunki consists entirely, and the cycle Rubayaty wojenne chiefly, of quatrains; verses of four, five and six lines occupy an important place in her other collections. This study will be concerned with Pawlikowska's poetics of brevity, her techniques of economy--specifically as displayed in Pocałunki, but the observations and conclusions should have some validity for her work as a whole. For while this collection is in volume only a small part of the entire work of Pawlikowska, and a rather special aspect of it, it is in one sense highly characteristic, as a maximal development of one of her leading traits--compression and economy of style.

The choice of a form as brief as four lines must necessarily impose certain limitations on scope of subject matter, yet Pawlikowska's techniques of economy, of compression of expression, are so highly developed as to largely overcome these limitations. Of course no matter how skilled the lyricist, four lines is not sufficient to present a temporally extensive segment of experience, except in the most superficial fashion. Therefore the poems in Pocałunki are limited in this sense: each of them is devoted to a single moment, a single facet of emotion or experience. But they are all significant moments, that imply and involve more than just themselves: moments of emotional crisis (Telegram, Listy, Słowniki, List); pregnant moments (Łabędź, Cień, Ślepa); moments of realization (Tancerka, Przebyta droga).

Often the subject of the poem is a less specific emotional experience than in the above examples, a more general emotional state. In these, the "moment" is external, usually from nature, and it is captured by the artist in order to serve as a simile for, to "objectify"² the emotional state. One of the clearest examples of this is "Wybrzeże." In a few poems the external scene is presented by itself, with no comparison to inner

experience (Krokusy, Jesień) or at most only an implied comparison (Nietoperz, Październik). But whatever the specific nature of the poem, in each case the moment is sufficiently typified and generalized (however fresh and individual the mode of presentation may be) that the reader recognizes an emotion previously experienced--even if only vicariously--, often under the same or similar external stimuli. This is one of the traits that allow these poems to convey so much through so little: they serve as starting-points, to which the reader adds from his own experience.

In terms of what is explicitly presented, the lyrical miniatures are static and sketchy. Too short to describe fully or to analyze, they simply present, and they present not processes but states. But much more is implicit in them than that which is stated. The states presented imply foregoing or subsequent processes, the being implies the becoming. An example is "Wydarty bukiet," which explicitly records only the moment of despair of the rejected woman, but indirectly and figuratively refers to the cause (wydarty mi siłą z dłoni) and implies the result (lecz umrzeć mi nikt nie wzbroni) of this moment.

A special solution to the problem of portraying processes are the "cyclets" in the collection - several quatrains under a single title, developing a single theme (Kobieta w morzu, Marina, Na balkonie). But in these pieces, although they are more or less integral wholes, with unity and development of theme, each quatrain treats a separate moment and could just as easily stand alone, on an equal footing with the other four line poems in the collection.

Just as the emotional states that are presented are chosen so as to imply more than they state, similarly with the concrete details of description. This is the old classical device of replacing massing of detail by painstaking selection. Only a few details are given, but they are just those details sufficient to create an entire picture or mood. The picture is given only in outline or in its salient details, but the outline is sharp enough, or the detail characteristic enough, that the reader can easily fill in the rest.

Very much an integral part of Pawlikowska's poetry is the imagery; so much so that the lyrical miniatures, at least, are almost all imagery. In fact, some of the poems in Pocałunki are literally composed entirely of tropes--an extended metaphor or simile, or a series of related ones:

JESIEN

Chodzi w szalu czerwonym i złotym.
Przegląda się w owalu jeziora.
Lecz jest chora. I nic nie wie o tem
Że ją pochowają w tym szalu.

PAŹDZIERNIK

Brzozy są jak złote wodotryski.
Zimno jest jak w ostatnim liście.

A słońce jest jak ktoś bliski
Który ziębnie i odchodzi. Lecą liście...

The imagery of Pocałunki is wholly metaphorical (metaphorical in the broadest sense, i.e. based on similarity, as opposed to metonymic imagery, based on contiguity).³ The tropes used are simile, metaphor and prosopopoeia. This imagery is one of the chief elements in the compactness of Pawlikowska's style: her well-chosen, visually striking and psychologically appropriate comparisons characterize the emotional states that comprise the themes of the poems better than more lengthy direct description. The typical structure of the lyrical miniature is the juxtaposition of a visual or sensual image with a lyrical emotion. A simple example is "Zmierzch na morzu:"

Wybrzeże coraz to bledsze
w liljowej póżałości
i żaglowiec oparty na wietrze
jak ja na myśli o tobie.

This is a straightforward simile, but usually the method of comparison is more complex and subtle. The comparison is not just a juxtaposition of two elements, in order to characterize one with the other; rather, the action seems to be reciprocal, each element characterizing the other. The physical world and the psychical world are inextricably intertwined, and each partakes of the nature of the other; similarly, the imagery is interdependent:

UPAŁ

Dni znużone jak muły wloką się po wybojach.
W żaluzje pukają kanikuły...
Upał przyszedł z ogrodu i zamieszkał w pokojach.
Ach, jak pragnę twego serca z lodu...

In "Ogród," the identification is even more complete:

Gdy wiosna zaświta
jest w ogrodzie raz ciemniej, raz jaśniej.
Wciąż coś zakwita, przekwita.
Wczoraj kwitło moje serce. Dziś jaśmin.

This is what Kridl calls "Chętnie syntetyczne skróty w kombinacji psychiczne stany z zjawiskami przyrody,"⁴ and it allows for greater poetic intensity than a conventional comparison of comparable extent.

As was mentioned above, Pawlikowska's images also contribute to the compactness of the style by their great evocative power, which in turn is a result of their appropriateness, their colorfulness and their visual, concrete quality: the world at night "shines, like a tray full of golden stars" (Marina); the parti-colored ocean fish are "Silky... in tulle

flounces of gills" or "of satin, with a marvelously matched lining" (Marina); the moon "has a collar made of a rainbow" (Na balkonie) or as a "pale paperhanger, spreads out wallpaper full of memories" (Tapicer); to a moth, the candle flame is "a fiery snare" and a "golden thorn" (Oczy na skrzydłach); hail, like "icy candles of angels," falls "from the height of a thousand stories" (Grad).

Pawlikowska's images are nearly always functional rather than merely decorative; they are there to interpret the theme of the poem, not to demonstrate the poet's originality. One seldom feels that the poem has perhaps been written for the sake of the image, or that an unnecessary image has been introduced only because of its intrinsic appeal. This of course also makes for economy: nothing is superfluous.

Sometimes at the basis of the comparison lie such allusions to literature, art, or history as Leda and the Swan, Jacob and the Angel, the Samothracian Nike, Jeanne d'Arc. This also is a device for brevity, forcing the reader to fill in part of the picture from his own knowledge. In a few cases the reference is veiled, as in "Cnoty," where the Biblical injunction to "love thine enemy" is indirectly cited--and incidentally, given a different twist--, or the cultural allusion in "Pod kościołem," where the title phrase refers to the custom of beggars sitting outside of churches.

All the lyrical miniatures bear titles. This is a minor device, but it also makes a certain contribution to their brevity and power of evoking a definite mood in so few words. The title usually names the central image (Upał, Nietoperz, Zraniona gazela, Aeroplan), the scene (Plaża w nocy, Wybrzeże), or the theme (Bezpieczeństwo, Miłość, Zawód). In most cases, the poem would be perfectly clear without the title, but their impact might not be so direct--the brief but expressive titles arouse in the reader's mind a certain general image, scene or mood, thus making him more prepared to receive the poet's particular view or interpretation. In some few cases, the title is an even more integral part, and the poem would be more or less obscure without it (Umarły, Jesień).

It is interesting that in her striving for brevity, Pawlikowska makes all but no use of the most obvious device for condensation--ellipsis. Besides the predicateless sentence-equivalents⁵ (as in Wybrzeże, Cma, Grad) and the few other cases of omission of a copula (e.g. bo ono [jest] silniejsze odemnie--"Anioł i Jakób")--which strictly speaking are standard grammatical constructions, not stylistic ellipsis--the only ellipsis in the entire collection consists in the omission of a few verbs, easily supplied from a preceding sentence (Spadła gwiazda. I druga, i trzecia. - "Gwiazdy spadające"; Wczoraj kwitło moje serce. Dziś jaśmin. - "Ogród"). The general tone of the collection is of balance and restraint, with emotion kept well below the surface and conveyed by the words and images rather than by the accents of the voice; too much ellipsis would suggest a voice breaking with emotion and would disrupt this tone. Furthermore, Pawlikowska is not compelled to resort to such syntactic means of condensation, due to the efficiency of her other devices and to the natural concision of the Polish language, of which she takes full advantage.

The general tone of the collection was just mentioned. This tone is quite uniform throughout, and the individual poems gain in expressiveness from this uniformity. Although the external subject-matter and images are extremely varied, the poet's interpretation gives them in virtually every poem the same emotional coloration: a minor key, a mood of restrained melancholy and hopeless yearnings, a feeling--and quiet acceptance--that life, and especially love, is inevitably tragic. It is a muted, pastel mood; words such as *cicho*, *szeptać* and the like recur again and again; the colors are similarly muted. The most common colors are gold and silver, black and grey; such pastels as sky-blue, pink, violet, straw-yellow and white appear; the most common single root-word in the collection is "pale." This uniformity, verging on monotony, is in one sense the chief defect of the collection, but it has its positive aspect: since the tone never changes significantly, the reader knows what to expect as he approaches each verse, and enters the more easily into the poet's frame of mind.

Pawlikowska's lyrical miniatures are a rather unusual phenomenon in Western poetry; to my knowledge, at least, no other poet has done so much with the four-line lyric. Others have concentrated on short lyrics (Axmatova for one), but rarely shorter than six to eight lines. In the West, forms shorter than this have been traditionally reserved for the epigram and related genres. Kridl speaks of Pawlikowska's preference for epigrammatic forms,⁶ but her manner of expression--in Pocałunki at any rate--does not seem to me to be precisely epigrammatic, terse and compact though it is. To me "epigrammatic" implies wit and a certain rather showy brilliance in formulation of thought, and suggests a poetry in which the mind partakes at least as much as the heart. Wit and brilliance are not among the virtues of Pocałunki; they would be out of place. The lyrical miniatures, with some exceptions, are pure emotion, and the cleverness of word-play that so often lies at the basis of epigrammatic formulations is mostly absent. (One exception is "Listy:" "Do pieca, miłosny zeszyście! / Do pieca, listy - stos cały! / A żeście z ognia powstały, / więc w ogień się obróćcie!") In a later cycle of miniatures, Rubayaty wojenne, the epigrammatic quality is rather more pronounced, but these latter are a rather different sort of poetry. Without ceasing to be highly lyrical, they add a certain assertive strain, arising from the poet's agonized protest against war.

Since the lyrical miniatures are at least unusual in the Western tradition, it is interesting to note the similarities that they present to a Japanese form, the seventeen-syllable haiku (usually translated into Western languages as three or four-line verses). Haiku, like the lyrical miniatures, record exclusively "high moments," and depend extensively on suggestion and implication. The method of description is the same--only the outlines or the salient details are given, the rest being left up to the reader. Pawlikowska's method of comparison (discussed in Part III) resembles the so-called "principle of internal comparison" of haiku.⁷ Of course there are important differences. For instance, haiku makes much more use of ellipsis. This seems to be at least in part linguistically based; Japanese is apparently more tolerant of ellipsis than Indo-European languages. Also haiku demands to an even greater

extent than the lyrical miniatures the participation of the reader. This is partly because haiku is more culturally oriented, that is, it uses extensively cultural allusions and thus demands more knowledge of its background. Not only do many haiku contain specific literary and artistic allusions, but nearly all of them demand a close knowledge of Japanese landscape, custom and history, as well as of the conventions of haiku, for full understanding. Furthermore, the haiku are on the surface much more objective. They simply draw a word-picture; the mood, the emotional or intellectual content, are left almost entirely to suggestion and association.

This is but a rough and preliminary comparison; there are still other points of similarity and difference, perhaps more essential ones, but a fuller discussion of them is more properly the subject of another paper. On the whole, the comparison does not seem to suggest influence, although it is not impossible--haiku began to receive attention in the West in the 1920's, when Pawlikowska was beginning her career. But the similarities that do exist are "universals"--elements present to a greater or lesser degree in any poetic tradition--and Pawlikowska's unusual cultivation of them is more probably independent of the Japanese tradition.

If one word could summarize the essence of Pawlikowska's technique in Pocafunki, that word would be "selection"--selection of the significant moment, selection of the most appropriate images to capture the moment, selection of the significant details to convey these images and selection of the precise words to portray these details. Selection is of course an inevitable element in the artistic process, but different poets, different schools, different traditions assign it varying degrees of importance. The placing of a high value on painstaking selection, as one of the central virtues of an artistic work, is a leading characteristic of the "classical" approach, and thus the word returns us to our starting point--the characterization of Maria Pawlikowska as a Skamander poet, or neo-classicist.

Notes

1. Analogous to the earlier Acmeist school in Russia.
2. The term is Manfred Kridl's: see his section on Pawlikowska in Literatura Polska, (New York, 1945), pp. 548-552.
3. Cf. R. Jakobson and M. Halle, Fundamentals of Language, pp. 76-82.
4. Literatura Polska, p. 552.
5. In Russian, назывные предложения.
6. Literatura Polska, p. 548.
7. H. G. Henderson, An Introduction to Haiku, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958, p. 18. Cf. the reference of note 4.

ON THE LOSS OF PROTO-SLAVIC LIQUID DIPHTHONGS

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0.0 The elimination in the course of CS1 of PS1 diphthongs consisting of [**e/o + *r/l + C*] has generally been considered a simple sound change, completely in accord with the CS1 preference of a rising to a falling syllabic sonority contour. However, a great number of complications have been introduced to account for the slight variations in the results of the change as it advanced through the CS1 dialects. This is not the place to enumerate and criticize in detail all the various hypotheses which have been advanced. Suffice it to say that in order to deal with the dialect developments Slavists have used, besides some sort of metathesis, various combinations and permutations of 'concentration of length on one or the other of the constituents of the diphthong,' 'development and loss of syllabic liquids,' 'development and loss of svarabhakti vowels,' and completely ad hoc analogical changes.¹

The object of this paper is to show that by rigorously reducing the sound change in question to its most general constituents and by carefully considering the consequences of different orderings of these elements, the basic simplicity of the sound change can be preserved, while the issue of dialectal variation reduces to one of relative chronology. All the fanciful phonetic explanations become superfluous, and the substance of the dialect differentiation is represented clearly and systematically.

1.0 PS1 phonological system. For the purposes of this paper PS1 is assumed to have had the following phonological system.

1.1 Segmental phonological units.²

	i	u	ε	α	l	r	p/b	t/d	k/g	s/z	x	m	n
consonantal	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
vocalic	0	0	0	0	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasal	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
diffuse	+	+	-	-	0	0	+	+	-	+	-	0	0
grave	-	+	-	+	0	0	+	-	0	-	0	+	-
continuous	0	0	0	0	+	-	0	-	-	+	+	0	0
long	±	±	±	±	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
voiced	0	0	0	0	0	0	±	±	±	±	±	0	0

1.2 Diphthongs. The following formulae define the diphthongs which are customarily attributed to PS1:

- (a) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons.} \\ -\text{diff.} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons.} \\ +\text{diff.} \end{bmatrix}$
- (b) $[-\text{cons.}] \left[\begin{array}{l} [+ \text{cons.}] \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{voc.}] \\ [- \text{voc.}] \\ [+ \text{nas.}] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$

Length distinctions were neutralized in diphthongs: all diphthongs functioned as long vowels. In this paper we shall be concerned with the fate of diphthongs of the shape:

-cons.]	+cons.]
-diff.]	+voc.]

1.3 Prosodic features. The lexical items of PS1 were subcategorized prosodically in the following fashion: 'Clitica' were opposed to 'words'. Words were all the minimal free-forms of PS1, while clitica were those bound-forms (prepositions, prefixes, 'short' personal pronouns, the negative particle, etc.) which were attached to words according to certain well-known rules. Clitica were either proclitic or enclitic depending upon the position they assumed relative to the word to which they were attached. A word plus all the clitica which depended on it constituted the 'phonological word' (P-word).

Words were further subcategorized into 'phonologically stressed' (PS-words) and 'non-phonologically stressed' (NPS-words). The lexical entries of PS-words carried an accent mark on a diphthong or a long stem-vowel or no accent mark at all. In the first case the accent remained fixed on the given syllable in all the paradigmatic forms of the word. In the second case an accent was assigned by a rule to the desinence in all paradigmatic forms of the word. In neither case did clitica influence the place of the accent. As for NPS-words, certain of their paradigmatic forms were assigned desinence stress. In all remaining occurrences of the word a low-level phonological rule assigned an accent to the first syllable of the P-word as a whole. Thus, proclitics drew the accent from initial stressed instances of circumflex words.

As a result, paradigms of PS-words were characterized by fixed stress, end or stem. On the other hand, paradigms of NPS-words showed alternation between initial and desinence stress and the well-known retraction of initial stress onto all proclitics.

In the examples used in this paper I will represent the PS1 prosodic features in the traditional manner. 'Acute' accent will mark PS1 PS-words: fem. nom. sg. *bérz-ā-, masc. nom. sg. *dām-ū-; and end-stressed forms of NPS-words: fem. nom. sg. *stārn-ā-. 'Circumflex' accent will mark initial-stressed forms of NPS-words: fem. acc. sg. *stārn-ā- and *nā-stārn-ā-, masc. nom. sg. *bāg-α-.

1.4 Changes prior to elimination of liquid diphthongs. Between the time when this phonological system existed and the time when the elimination of liquid diphthongs was carried out, a number of sound changes occurred which significantly changed the shape of PS1 forms. There is hardly space here to give a complete inventory of these changes and to argue their chronology. However, I must mention four changes which are necessary either to account fully for all aspects of the elimination of liquid diphthongs (1, 2, 3, below) or to explain the shape which the PS1 vowels take in my examples (4).

The first change makes non-consonantal segments non-vocalic before other non-consonantal segments, but vocalic elsewhere. That is, before vowels *i and *u become glides, [j] and [w] respectively. This change applies to all forms from right to left.

By the second change *l, *r, and *n become [-grave] and [-diff.] before [j]. The third change eliminates [j] after a palatal consonant (and [w] after a labial consonant). As will become apparent below, these changes insure that liquid diphthongs are eliminated before *v followed by a vowel (OCS glava) but not before *i followed by a vowel (OCS of_o, kol_o, bof_o).

The fourth change makes *α [-flat] before *v or nasal consonant when either is followed by another consonant. All other vowels become [-flat].⁴ This, in effect, changes the specifications of the vowels as given in the PS1 matrix. I shall represent this change by using the following symbols in my examples:

[+voc., -cons., -flat] : ī i ī i
ē e ā ʌ
[+voc., -cons., +flat] : o

Henceforth the following abbreviations will be used to denote certain classes of segments at this stage: [V] will denote all segments which are [+voc., -cons.], [C] all segments which are [-voc.], and [L] all segments which are [+voc., +cons.].

2.0 Elimination of [V, -diffuse] + [L] in C---C. (TORT) In the main body of this discussion I shall limit myself to the elimination of the diphthongs in question in the environment between two consonants. Once this has been described, I shall try to indicate how the loss of the diphthongs in absolute word-initial position (ORT) can be incorporated into the same descriptive scheme.

2.1 Dialect areas. The various dialect treatments of the TORT formula divide the Slavic speech community into four areas: South Slavic, Czech and Slovak (Area I), East Slavic (Area II), Polish and Upper and Lower Sorbian (Area III), and Northern Lekhitic (Area IV). In Area IV TORT (and ORT) underwent developments which I am not prepared to discuss here. Hence, only Areas I, II, and III will be considered below.

2.1.1 Area I. The correct forms for SS1, Cz and Slk can be produced by the following rules, granted that they apply in the order in which they are presented. Note that only (A) needs to be strictly ordered with relation to (B and C). (B) and (C) may be interchanged without disturbing the results of the three rules.

RULE A. Lengthening of [V] in TORT.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons.} \\ -\text{diff.} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+long] / [-\text{voc.}] \quad \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons.} \\ +\text{voc.} \end{bmatrix} [-\text{voc.}]$$

i.e.
$$\begin{bmatrix} e \\ \wedge \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \tilde{e} \\ \tilde{\wedge} \end{bmatrix} / C---LC$$

RULE B. Metathesis of [VL] in TORT.

$XY \rightarrow YX / \underline{\quad} [-\text{voc.}]$

where $X = \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons.} \\ -\text{diff.} \end{bmatrix}$ and $Y = \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons.} \\ +\text{voc.} \end{bmatrix}$

i.e. $VLC \rightarrow LVC$ if $V = e$ or \wedge .

RULE C. Quantitative distinctions are replaced by qualitative distinctions.

This process consists of two different changes. The first of these is common to all the dialects of CS1: long vowels become tense, while short vowels become lax. (Note that later the non-diffuse, tense vowels and the diffuse, non-tense vowels are modified further in ways which depend on the particular dialect.) Secondly, by a change which varies widely throughout the dialects, length is redistributed. For the purposes of this paper I will need only the first of these rules. The other will be taken for granted along with the numerous other rules needed to produce the diverse modern forms from the forms generated by (A, B, and C).

RULE C₁. Tenseness as a function of length.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons.} \\ \text{+voc.} \\ \text{along} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow [\alpha \text{tense}]$$

i.e. ī i ī ī ī i ī ī
 ē e ā ʌ ē e ā ʌ

The following examples serve to illustrate the developments of this area. The dashes denote the assumed, unstated changes.

*bʌrd-ā- → A → bārd-ā- → B → brārd-ā- → C₁ → brārd-ā- - - - →
OCS brada, SC što. bráda, SC čak. brādā, Sln bráda,
Cz-Slk brada.

*gʌlw-ā- → A → gālw-ā- → B → glāw-ā- → C₁ → glāw-ā- - - - →
OSC glava, SC što. gláva, Cz-Slk hláva.

2.1.2 Area II.⁵ In his stimulating study 'Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe...' Roman Jakobson asserts that there is reason to believe that distinctive length began to be lost earlier in dialects underlying ES1 than in other areas of the CS1 speech community.⁶ In terms of the system being used here this means that at least Rule C₁ occurred earlier in Area II than in Areas I and III. Suppose that (C₁) occurred early enough here to precede Rules A and B. Then the question arises as to whether any modification of (A) or (B) follows as a result of this change of order.

Consider more closely Rule A. In its most general form this rule states simply that certain vowels are lengthened. That is, it produces a number of [V̄]. It is the case that, whenever confronted with a phonetically long element, one must decide whether to treat it as a long unit or as a geminate short: that is, whether to introduce distinctive length into the vocalic system of the language under consideration. The phone [V̄] admits 'a priori' both possibilities, V̄ or VV. To resolve this problem one must have recourse to other information about the language, particularly to information about the existence of other long elements, about the distribution of longs versus shorts, about

their frequency of occurrence, environments of contrast, and the like.⁷ This is to say simply that, if it is not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of \bar{V} or VV must be motivated by the over-all phonological pattern of the language. Applied to the problem at hand, this argument asserts that Rule A permits either of two outputs, \bar{V} or VV . Which output is chosen depends upon the state of the given dialect at the moment Rule A becomes operative.

In 2.1.1 I assumed \bar{V} as the output of Rule A in Area I. I should say here that this choice was motivated by the thorough-going and general presence of distinctive vocalic length in this area at the moment Rule A is introduced. There is no reason to interpret \bar{V} as a geminate.

On the other hand, assuming that in Area II Rule C_1 precedes Rule A, the choice of VV as the output of (A) becomes more reasonable. A weak motivation for this lies in the fact that Rule C_1 signals the beginning of processes destined to eliminate PS1 distinctive length. Perhaps, until the process is completed no succeeding rules ought to be allowed to run contrary to this line of development by introducing new long units.

A more compelling reason for preferring the geminate output, I feel, is to be found in the system of distinctive oppositions which obtains after Rule C_1 has acted. Consider the non-diffuse vowels in a post- C_1 dialect. There are four distinctive units which occur in all the environments in which [V] is permitted in general:

- [$\bar{\Lambda}$] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., +grave, +long, +tense]
- [\bar{e}] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., -grave, +long, +tense]
- [\wedge] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., +grave, -long, -tense]
- [e] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., -grave, -long, -tense]

Now Rule A introduces the following phonetic items:

- [$\bar{\lambda}$] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., +grave, +long, -tense]
- [\bar{e}] : [-voc., +cons., -diff., -grave, +long, -tense]

If X = all the environments in which [V] may occur except C---LC, then the distributions of these six items are as follows:

	X	C---LC
$\bar{\Lambda}$	+	-
\wedge	+	-
$\bar{\lambda}$	-	+
\bar{e}	+	-
e	+	-
\bar{e}	-	+

Clearly one needs to posit the following four phonemes: / $\bar{\Lambda}$ \wedge \bar{e} e/. But to which of these are [$\bar{\lambda}$] and [\bar{e}] to be assigned? [$\bar{\lambda}$] is in complementary distribution with both / $\bar{\Lambda}$ / and / \wedge / and differs from each of them by a single feature. [\bar{e}] is identically related to / \bar{e} / and /e/. This being the case, the assignment of [$\bar{\lambda}$] to / $\bar{\Lambda}$ / or / \wedge / or of [\bar{e}] to / \bar{e} / or /e/ is entirely arbitrary. Just for this reason I submit that it is correct here to choose the geminate representation. Since the alternative $*\bar{V}\bar{V}$ is excluded naturally, only the choice VV is possible. Thus a

unique phonemic representation for $[\bar{V}]$ is achieved.

In sum then, I am suggesting that if Rule C_1 precedes (A) in Area II, functional considerations prompt a slight reformulation of (A): its output is VV , not \bar{V} .

RULE A'. Gemination of V in TORT.

$X \rightarrow X X / [-\text{voc.}] \quad \text{---} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons.} \\ +\text{voc.} \end{bmatrix} [-\text{voc.}]$

where $X = \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons.} \\ -\text{diff.} \end{bmatrix}$

i.e. $\begin{bmatrix} e \\ \wedge \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} ee \\ \wedge \wedge \end{bmatrix} / C \text{---} \text{LC}$

The ESL forms follow now in a perfectly regular fashion:

*bard- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow C_1 \rightarrow$ bard- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow A' \rightarrow$ b $\wedge\wedge$ ard- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow B \rightarrow$ b \wedge r \wedge d- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - \rightarrow
R boroda

*g \wedge lw- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow C_1 \rightarrow$ g \wedge lw- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow A' \rightarrow$ g $\wedge\wedge$ lw- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow B \rightarrow$ g \wedge l \wedge w- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - \rightarrow
R golova

One complication arises when accented TORT is eliminated in this area, namely, circumflex TORT becomes $\text{T}\acute{\text{O}}\text{ROT}$, while acute TORT becomes $\text{TOR}\acute{\text{O}}\text{T}$. This can be accounted for most simply by positing a change between (A') and (B) which shifts the accent from the first to the second mora of the geminate vowel if the accent is acute, but fixes it on the first mora if it is circumflex. The reinterpretation of acute (assuming it to be some kind of rising pitch) as $V\bar{V}$ and circumflex (assuming it to be a falling pitch) as VV is quite understandable granted the gemination of the vowel. It is only in the TORT formula that geminate vowels arise in ESL. Thus one sees why it is only on these syllables that the difference between PSl acute and circumflex is preserved. That the assumption of (A') seems to explain this additional fact about ESL tends to support the arguments for (A') given above. Examples of the difference between reflexes of $\text{T}\acute{\text{O}}\text{RT}$ and $\text{TOR}\acute{\text{O}}\text{T}$ are:

*g $\tilde{\alpha}$ rd- α - \rightarrow R g $\acute{\text{o}}$ rod

*b $\acute{\text{e}}$ rz- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - \rightarrow R ber $\acute{\text{e}}$ za

2.1.3 Area III. Here the correct forms are produced if Rule A is simply omitted:

*bard- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow B \rightarrow$ br \wedge d- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow C_1 \rightarrow$ br \wedge d- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - \rightarrow P, US, LS broda

*g \wedge lw- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow B \rightarrow$ gl \wedge w- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - $\rightarrow C_1 \rightarrow$ gl \wedge w- $\tilde{\alpha}$ - \rightarrow P, LS g $\acute{\text{l}}$ owa,
US h $\acute{\text{l}}$ owa

2.2 Summary. The dialect differences which occur during the CSL elimination of PSl TORT sequences can be explained as 1) the slightly different ordering of three changes in two of the areas under consideration, and 2) the absence of one of these changes in the third area.

	Area I	Area II	Area III
(1)	A	C_1	B
(2)	B	A'	C_1
(3)	C_1	B	—

3.0 Elimination of ORT. It is relatively easy to include this development within the descriptive framework provided above. In the first place, Area I must be divided in two: SSl and CentSlk (Area Ia) versus Cz and the remainder of Slk (Area Ib). Secondly, it is necessary to provide for the preservation of IE length in diphthongs of the ORT formula.⁸ Thus, PSl # $\{\overset{e}{\Lambda}\}$ LC- contrasts with # $\{\overset{e}{\Lambda}\}$ LC-. Finally, one must delete from the environment of Rule A in Area Ia the first occurrence of [+cons., -voc]. Thus, in Area Ia lengthening will be general in liquid diphthongs. In other areas it will be restricted to C---LC. In sum, length oppositions in the ORT formula will be preserved in all areas except Ia. The following examples serve to illustrate the various developments:

Area Ia: * $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow A \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- - - - \rightarrow
OCS ramo, SC što. rāme, Slv rāma

* $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow A \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- - -
- \rightarrow OCS ravънь, SC što. rávan, Slv ráven

Area Ib: * $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow A \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- - - - \rightarrow
Cz rāmě

* $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow A \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- - -
- \rightarrow Cz rovný

Area II:⁹ * $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow A' \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- - - - \rightarrow
R rāmo

* $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow A' \rightarrow $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win-
- - - \rightarrow R róven

Area III: * $\bar{\Lambda}$ rm- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ m- - - - \rightarrow P ramie

* $\bar{\Lambda}$ rwin- \rightarrow B \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- \rightarrow C₁ \rightarrow r $\bar{\Lambda}$ win- - - - \rightarrow P równy

Notes

1. See especially:

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Дурного, Н., Очерк истории русского языка, The Hague, 1962, 128-130.

Иванов, В.В., Историческая грамматика русского языка, Москва, 1964, 151-158.

Jakobson, R., "On Slavic Diphthongs Ending in a Liquid," Selected Writings, I, The Hague, 1962, 443-448.

-----, "Comparative Slavic Phonology," Selected Writings, I, The Hague, 1962, 413-417.

Mareš, F.V., "The Origin of the Slavic Phonological System," Michigan Slavic Materials, No. 6, Ann Arbor, 22-27.

Розов, В., "Еще о формулах tort, tolt, tert," Sborník prací I Sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze, V. 2; Praha, 1929, 668-695.

- Селищев, А.М., Старо-славянский язык, I, Москва, 1961, 163-172.
- van Wijk, N., Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache, Berlin and Leiden, 1931, 55-58.
2. See R. Jakobson, "Information and Redundancy in the Common Slavic Prosodic pattern," Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kurylowicz, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1965, for further discussion of PSl phonological system.
 3. This description applies to PSl the same approach used first by Pavle Ivić to describe SC prosody. See: Die serbokroatischen Dialekte, The Hague, 1958.
 "O deklinacionim oblicima u srpskohrvatskim dijalektima II," Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, V, 1960.
 "Prozodijski sistem savremenog srpskohrvatskog standardnog jezika," Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kurylowicz.
 4. See R. Jakobson, "Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique de russe," Selected Writings, I, p. 25, and N. Troubetzkoy, "Essai sur la chronologie de certains faits phonétiques du slave commun," Revue des Études slaves, II, 1922, 217-234, esp. section II.
 5. T.M. Lightner's treatment of 'polnoglasie' forms in his study of Russian phonology (unpublished dissertation, M.I.T., 1965) served as the inspiration for the discussion of the loss of TORT in this area. I have tried to show that on the diachronic axis there is reason to prefer the same solution which he suggested on the synchronic axis.
 6. See especially section VII of the monograph as reprinted in Selected Writings, I.
 7. Cf. the problem of 'long' consonants in Contemporary Standard Russian:
 [v'v'ɔɫ] '(he) introduced' vs. [v'ɔɫ] '(he) led'
 [ssɪpɫ'] 'to pour' vs. [sɪpɫ'] 'to strew'
 8. See Р. Якобсон, "Опыт фонологического подхода к историческим вопросам славянской акцентологии," American Contributions to the 5th International Congress of Slavists, The Hague, 1963.
 9. In Ukrainian it is certainly the case that the metathesis change is split: metathesis in absolute word-initial position occurred before metathesis in C---C. Moreover, between these two changes came the Ukr. lengthening of *e and *ʌ before a syllable containing a weak yer. Thus is explained the presence of such lengthening in absolute word-initial position and its absence in C---C: cf. Ukr. rivnyj but borošno.

"SDRATS YE, GUS PAUDHEEN!"

*Notes From a Survey-in-Progress of Slavs and
Slavicisms in Finnegans Wake*

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James Joyce's daedal "lapsus langways, falsemeaning adamel-egy," Finnegans Wake, - rife, as life is, with "doublin talk" under the benevolent, every-which-way patronage of Saint Galem-baurnus,¹ - has, surprisingly, been paid little or no attention by Slavic-speaking commentators. The French, the Germans, and the Danes have all enjoyed - and continue to enjoy - the enormous entertainment of winnowing through the "any way words all in one soluble" of the Wake, tracking down the very considerable number and variety of allusions made by Joyce to their languages and compatriots, and, thereby, deepening Everyreader's understanding of the book. This leaves a dozen or more 'foreign bodies' yet to be retrieved from the welter; and Russian, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, and Polish allusions and direct borrowings - unlike, say, those taken from Hungarian - span the Wake in astonishing profusion. Paronomasia is the device through which the majority of Slavic allusions gain entry into the great Viconian cyclical word-fest, but it was by no means the sole verbal tactic up Joyce's sleeve. The "transplant direct" - the borrowing of a single Slavic word or phrase "whole" (i.e. without either phonetic or phonemic mutation) - is the most readily spotted, of course. It/they may or may not function, in context, as semantically equivalent to an English word or phrase. Congruence with the narrative(s) and personae was by no means a sine qua non for Joyce in concocting his strong Slavic infusion. He gives constant evidence of a penchant for indulging in recondite, polyglot mind-boggling - either for its own sake or in order to puzzle his readers. The "transplant oblique," a mechanism often so adroitly managed as to make the transplanted element seem no more than a mere overtone, was used to produce a variety of mutations: neologistic portmanteau words that can be polylingual through the combination of, for example, a German prefix with a Russian root and an English suffix that happens to be a paronomastic refraction of an Irish formant; calques; and a particularly rich by-play involving phonetic, phonemic, morphological and orthographic mutations, re-arrangements, and re-associations of Slavic roots, verb-stems, prefixes, and suffixes not confectioned into portmanteau neologisms with non-Slavic linguistic elements. Linguists will readily detect in the proceeding examples the phenomena of assimilation, anticipation alone, anticipation with substitutions (both distance and contact varieties), and anticipation with loss; haplology (frequent in FW,² and presenting, at times, imponderably hermetic verbal quagmires); lag (with loss or substitution or both); simple distance metathesis (including a not inconsiderable collection of Spoonerisms) as well as examples of more involved varieties of metathesis; dissimilation; and numerous instances of contamination.

The listing to follow is synoptic rather than fully encyclopedic, naturally, since compression has had to be a guide-line for its inclusion in this collection. With this proviso in mind, I have not attempted an outline of what Finnegans Wake is "about," and will assume that the reader has at least a flirting acquaintance both with the book and the several Slavic languages that

figure in it. A Slavic-speaking (or Slavic-reading) non-reader of FW may, however, take comfort in the knowledge that the book is as much about itself – how it is written – as it is about people and how and where they behave.

A 327.34:aasbukividdy....

From "The caging of the rover" episode. Hence, appropriately enough, the ALP-figure, vis-à-vis the HCE-rover, is described as being "aasbukividdy"--ready for love--i.e. from A to Z. Cf. the old Russian manner of saying the first three letters of the Cyrillic alphabet: "аз буквы веде..."

B The Butt & Taff Episode. High concentration of Slavic allusions due, logically, to the yarn spun by Butt about Buckley's shooting of the Russian General at Balaklava.

338.13,14: (Butt talking)But da. But/ dada.....

The transplant direct from R., in the first example, as Butt agrees to launch into the tale; a paronomastic allusion, in the second, to baby-talk's primary CVCV arrangement³ as well as the Dada of Tzara, Arp, Heulsenbeck, Schwitters et al.

338.28,29: (Taff urging Butt on with the narrative) ...Sling Stranaslang, how Malorazzias spikes her, coining a speak a spake!

He wants Butt to tell the tale in the lingo of the Ukraine, No Ukrainian in this episode (nor anywhere else in FW), however. Portmanteau word, adding slang to R. страна / странный.

339.4-6:He gatovit and me gatofit and Oalgoak's Cheloven gut a fudden. Povar old pitschobed!
Molodeztious of metchennacht belabart that pent-schmyaso!

Butt, re Buckley's getting ready to fire the shot at the General, puns on the Negro Spiritual "I gotta shoe, you gotta shoe, all God's chillun got shoes..." while, at the same time, covertly alluding to Akakij Akak'evič in Šinel' since both the General and Gogol's hero "got a fit" and met sad ends. NB: 2nd, Anglicised form of R. ГОТОВИТ. Joyce shows throughout FW that he knows how to pronounce Russian. (He is never, in fact, solely a speller or transliterator of any of the Slavic languages he uses in FW.) Further paronomasias: R. повар (on Eng. poor); R. меч converted into a German plural and linked with Nacht for a pun on Mitternacht and a bi-lingual portmanteau neologism. Molodeztious (cf. R. молодёжь) describes Buckley, the young hero of the battle who shot the General in the region of his private parts (cf. R. мясо). Students of FW will recognize that the General did not meet his end either by sword or at night/midnight. Cf., as well, R. челове[к] pun on "chillun."

340.06:Djublian.....

(Dublin in Ljubljana's clothing)

340.20,21: ...Bruinoboroff, the hooney-moonger, and the griz-
zliest manmichal in Meideveide!

The Russian General here as Russian man-bear. Cf. Cz. version of Michael (Michal) and its nickname form Miša (as much the R. pet-name for a bear as Fido or Rover in Eng. for a dog) punning on mammal and animal; R. медведь as a toponymic paranomasia on Maida Vale.

340.38:on his Mujiksy's Zaravena....

Easily recognizable as "On his Majesty's Service"

341.09: "The balacleivka! Trovatarovitch!....."

341.11,12:(with the sickle of a scygethbut the humor of a hummer, O, howorodies through his Cholarguled...)

Taff wryly compliments the hero of the proceedings-Balaklava/"very clever guy"—and alludes to the forging in "Il Trovatore," congruent to the sword-brandishing General (impertinently mocked: cf. R. товарищ). Cf., also, R. сковать/сковывать, and сковорода.

343.15,16:he scents the anggreget yup behound their whole scoopchina's desperate noy's....

Butt senses the excited, doggy rowdiness of the drinkers who are growing restless at his constant digressions. Vide Cz. skupina.

343.25,26:he/ was legging.....for a stooleazy....

Butt describing the General's looking about for a suitable spot to relieve himself. Cf. R. столица / стол / престол.

343.34:the homely Churopodvas.....

The General urinating in front of Buckley. Cf. Cz. čurat and, in this context, the grammatically askew pod vás. Overtones: vas deferens; S. kod vas; P. kuropatwa.

344.09: (Butt, pausing in the tale):studently drobs led,...

Here, both the General drops stone-cold dead and Buckley cold-bloodedly opens fire (drubs him with lead). Cf. Cz. student[ý].

344.14:his nitshnykopfgoknob.....

Butt is not simply punning on Nizhnij-Novgorod but, far more significantly, comes up with an elaborate tri-lingual portmanteau insult-noun slighting the dimensions of the General's glans penis. Compare the lexical inter-play between R. ниж- and нич- as the first component(s) of the neologism made from Germ. Kopf, Eng. knob, and Eng. go (in common colloquial use as a euphemism for either urinate or defecate, or both in combination).

346.29:'Twill be a rpnice pschange, arrah, sir?...

Taff sarcastically twits Butt re his, Butt's, telling of the tale, intimating that an alteration to the manner of the narration is in order at this point. The sarcasm is concealed in lexically approximate equivalents of S. rpà and Eng. swill.

344.30:tob tob tob beat it, solongopatom....

Butt expresses his reaction to the horrible murder-scene: "Better

to clear out pronto..." Tob is simply a modification of the Hungarian több--better-- (comparative of the adjective jó--good); solongopatom is an Anglo-Russian portmanteau neologism (cf. R. потом),--and a fairly pleonastic one, at that.

346.36: Horrasure.....

Telescoping of "Here [it] a[ll is, my service-record], sure."
Cf. R. хорошо.

347.06,07: ...when we sight the beasts.../whatlk of wraimy wetter!
Cf. S. vréme vis-à-vis Eng. rainy, weather, wetter and G. Wetter.

347.14:And winn again, blaguardargoos, or lues the day
Compare R. благодарю and подарга with Eng. blackguard and French blague for a composite allusion to the Irish.

348.03-5: BUTT (in his difficolitous tresdobremient, he feels a bitvalike a / baddlefall of stoat but falls a batforlake a borrlfull of bare) And me awlphul omegrims! Between me rassociations in the postleadeny past....

348.07,08: ...I've a boodle full of maimerries in me buzzim and medears runs sloze.....

Butt waxes rhetorically melancholy (cf. the linkage of disparate elements signaling trouble, worry and the Slavic root dobr-) and pauses in his bellicose tale for a bottle of stout, ending up with a barrel of beer. NB the echo of Butt's stagey, martial story (and story-telling style) in a bitvalike a baddlefall (cf. R. битва), as he edges toward his Guinness-prey. omegrims refers, of course, to Evgenij Onegin, and dilates upon "my crimes," "grim," and The Fall (omega)--Butt's fall as well as Onegin's. R. prefix рас- puns on both Butt's story (рассказ) and his questionable past ("post-leaden"/"post-Lenten" vis-à-vis R. последний) associations. medears ("my tears") 'translated' into a paronomastic adverb in Eng. (slow) nearly identical to the R. plural noun слёзы phonetically.

348.11-13:I [Butt] dring to them, bycorn spirits fuselaid-ing,even where its contentsd wody, with absents wehrmuth.

He toasts (albeit woefully--cf. P. woda/у and R. вода/воды)--the watery tears continue--the brave Crimean warriors.

348.36: In their ohosililesvienne biribarbebeway....

Taff snidely undercuts Butt's bragging of exploits with the Turkish whores. "They were diseased (beri beri) Lesbians who succeeded in shaving (or unmanning) you." Compare Cz. holit (se) / holičství with Fr. -barbe-.

349.01,2: [Taff addressing Butt:] Whor dor the pene lie, Mer Pencho?

Taff-Quixote questions Butt-Sancho Panza. Pencho most probably refers (by name rather than character) to Penčo Slavejkov, a writer to whom it would have been not unlikely for Joyce to have felt some kinship. This is one of the bare handful of Bulgarian allusions in FW.

350.29,30:(scene as signed, Slobabogue),.....

The transplant direct once again (cf. R. слава Богу). Gratitude, here, for the story's drawing to a much-delayed close.

350.29-33:feeding and sleeping...../
(the snuggest spalniel's where the lieon's tame!.....
.....Yet still in all, spit for spat,.....
....every warson wearrier kaddies a komnate in his
schnapsack.

Cf. R. спальня vis-à-vis Eng. spaniel as a good spot for him to "lie on" (lion); R. комната for both comb and "co-mate" (i.e. one's army buddy).

351.12,13:Woodbine Willie, so popiular with the poppy-rossies, our Chorney Choplain.....

Woodbine (the brand-name of a second-rate variety of English cigarette) is, semantically appropriate with his paronomasia "popular" ("ash-ked for")--cf. P. popiół--by all the poppy-rosey girls --cf. R. папиросы. Very "Charlie O'Chaplinessque"--the pun on R. чёрный revealing his (Willie's) "black Irishness."

351.14: BUTT: [inviting the company to drink] Sczlanthas!... Pivorandbowl.....

Cf. P. szklanka--not a pun here, whereas R. пиво, in Pivorandbowl puns on the imperative "pour!" ("Pour a round of drinks") and the Old King Cole's pipe and bowl.

352.17,18: [Taff]....is....too wellbred
not to ignore the umzemlianness of his rifa's pre-
ceedings.

Taff, ever the finicky, ill-at-ease fusser, takes a very metaphysical stance in objecting to Butt's carryings-on: Compare both unseemly and, with the help of R. земля, unearthly. German prefix, Russian substantive, English suffix. The student of FW need not, perhaps, be reminded of the metaphysical conflict between substance and illusion that crops up on nearly every page of the book.

352.22,23:Oholy rasher.... ! And Oho bullyclaver of ye, bragadore-gunneral!

"O holy Russia/Russian," "O wholly rash one" conceals, in the allusion to Cz. ohol[en]ý, the degrading manner by which the General met his death (i.e. Buckley's shot shaved off his privates). A very back-handed compliment (pun on "bully clever." Balaklava, and the notion that he, the General, had been gelded)--posthumously paid to the Russian and/or a salute to bully-clever Buckley the "ball-cleaver," himself a boastful gun-toter.

354.05: [Butt](he becomes, allasvitally, faint)....
Underlining (skit-directions, here) the author's.

The long-winded story-teller takes a final swig, having ended his yarn, and "wholly deprived of sunshine-d-ly" faints. The Slavic nugget in this recherché bi-lingual portmanteau adverb: Cz. svit.

C 537.23:goodbuy cootcoops.....

Joyce often provides a gloss either immediately preceding or following his Slavic-tinged calques, portmanteau words. Compare, here, Germ. gut to good (and the pun coot) which, with the addition of the R. root куп-, and pl. -s, evolves into a new noun meaning "bargains." NB the overtone "goodbyes."

The (so-called) Czechoslovak diversion. "Austro-Hungarian," however, more precisely describes the polyglot range of Kate the housemaid's message which ALP charges her to deliver to HCE at his till in the pub. No Slovak allusions discernable, at any rate.

332.36: Interruption. Check or slowback. Dvershen.

The prefatory heading of this sub-section. No particular Czech or Slovak implications in the nationalities or doings of the personae here: all are solidly of and in Dublin. The Czech/check-slowback/Slovak paronomasias either instigated or sanctioned the Austro-Hungarian influx. Joyce opens the doors to it by punning Cz. dveře with diversion, telescoping the two words into one.

333.03: K? An o.

Both "K[ate's going to HCE]? Yes." (or: "Ah no.") and "To [HCE]? Yes." (or: "Ah no"). Cf. Cz. ano. Joyce appears to have enjoyed using Czech, Russian and Polish single-consonant prepositions for the abbreviations they might or might not imply.

333.07:Katkatterschin.....

Kate (Kit-Kat) clatter-shin(s), or: cat-tattered shin(s), or: cat-shins, or: tatter-shin(s)---all ostensible as pun-characterizations echoing Cz. Kateřina.

333.14:weerpovy willowly dreev....

"The weeping (cf. Cz. vrbový) willow tree" contains a "flaw" (i. e. Cz. dřevo equated with strom), since Joyce either forgot or was unaware of the fact that tree and wood, though one-in-the-same word in Russian--дерево--are two different words in Czech.

333.15:as she shure sknows.....

Orthography does not quite obscure the knows--Cz. zná pun.

333.28: ...to pierce his ropé ear, how, Podushka be prayhasd,...

Alive with paronomasias. Certainly the most undercover is rope which, in context, means nothing in particular unless one by some quirk of chance hears in it a wholly plausible Cz. allusion to HCE--roup (pinworm). Podushka is more than a pillow (Cz. poduška): St. Patrick (cf. Paud-) has undergone partial Bohemization here. Prayhasd is, more apparently, Eng. praised + Praha.

333.29,30:his dorter of/ hush.....

An ambiguous attitude regarding the supposedly dear girl. She's "sweet as cake," the paronomasia of daughter and Cz. dort implies; yet she, (though she may whisper demurely in English), is

plainly a highly carnal creature, too: hús means "meat" in Hungarian.

333.34,35:the brambory cake for dour dompling /
obayre Mattom Beetom /
to licture her caudal with chesty chach from his
danberg den.....

Ambiguities of attitude toward the girl persist. There either will be "strawberry (Banbury) (brambleberry) cake for your (dear) dumpling"--cf. Cz. brambory- or "bramble cake for the dour dompling." A typical FW example of a punning relationship between two words (from two different languages) each meaning a very different thing: Eng. obey and P. obejrzeć (się) --meaning, in context here with Mrs Beeton's celebrated Victorian cookbook and guide to domestic etiquette--vide. The final Cz. words are barely modified transplants: čest (made an adjective, with an Eng. adj. suffix -y, meaning Cz. čestný and/or Eng. "chesty"); and čachr, which, even without its r, is about as close as Joyce ever comes to open "piracy-via-transcription.

334.18,19:Prosim, prosit, to the / krk n yr nck!

Prosim, besides meaning "please" here, might also be taken to be the product of Joyce's analogizing somewhat fancifully, a 1st sg. Bohemization of prosit--"I toast"; or, equally, could have been intended as the 3rd pers. sg. constituent of a joke-conjugation (equivalent to Cz. prosí). Cf., as well, R. Cf., in relation to krk n yr nck, a favorite Cz. tongue-twister: "strč prst skrz krk!"

D 505.25-29:The form masculine. The gender feminine.
I see.
....Now, are you derevatov of it yourself in any way? The True tree I mean?.....
.....Upfellbown.

Back to The Great World Tree. Cf. R. дерево & derivative, with a side-long glance at German Stamm-, stammen--a synecdoche in this context which Joyce perhaps had in mind and/or meant to imply.

625.20,21:Look, agres of roofs in parshes. Dom on dam,
dim in dym.

ALP looks over the town and describes what she sees. For the several paronomastic vibrations, cf. R. луг vis-à-vis look; R. дом vis-à-vis both Germ. Dom and dam (Dutch); R. дым and dim.

231.11, 12:(who thought/ him a Fonar all, feastking of
shellies by googing Lovvey,.....

Lighthouse/beacon personified enjoying himself at a love- (i.e. Liffey/ALP) feast. Vide R. фонарь. An ominous overtone tinges the amorous scene: cf. "funeral" vis-à-vis Fonar all.

243.30,34:The papal legate from the Vatucum, Monsaigneur
Rabbinsohn Crucis,.....for the hnor of Hrom and
the nations abhord him.....

Cf. Cz. hrom and Rome.

K 594.07:hunt me the journeyon, iteritinerant, the kal
his course,

In the Recorso, here, Suvarn Sur ("The Word made manifest" in
Sanskrit--i.e. "the call") receives a faecal slur. Cf. R. кал.

L Lepidoptera. In "The Ondt & the Gracehoper," an adaption
made of one of Krylov's best-known fables,
Joyce's "good smetterling of entymology" (417.
04) pops forth in polymorphous entomological
panoply:

416.08: [The Ondtwas]muravyingly wisechairman-looking.

416.35: blohablasting.....

417.09,10: ...it shall be motylucky.....

417.11:Papyllonian babooshkees.....

417.22,23:The Gracehopor, aguepe with ptchjelasys.....

Cf. R. муравей, блоха, бабочка; puns: ("mighty lucky") / Cz.
motyl; ("jealousy"/"jealousies") / R. пчела.

M 518.21:sham bottles, mere and woiney,

518.31:In voina viritas. [author's underlining]

The problem of the Fall in Phoenix Park. Fighting with sham
beer and wine bottles, despite the fact that the war is over.
Tolstoy in the wind. Cf. "Война и мир"; R. война with any/all
of the following: "In vino veritas," "Mankind's at war," "There's
truth in war," "Mankind's in wine."

177.06,07: ..(Daily/ Maily, fullup Lace! Holy Maly, Mothelup
Joss!

A newspaper Hail Mary in which Captain Marvel's "Holy Moley!"
finds an echo in Cz. malý.

418.18:Moyhammlet.....

R. мой and Hamlet are conjoined to form a pun on Mohammed. This
characterizes Shem perfectly. He is both a "prophet" and, at
the same time, is as "out of joint" as Hamlet.

P 157.29,30:As if/ she would be third perty to search
on search proceedings!

The Little Girl playing coy while flirting. A definite sugges-
tion, à la petomane, that her company manners are not all they
might be: pun on pert by Cz. prty.

593.16:pratician pratyusers.....

Cf. S. pratiojca.

R 081.34:(de) Razzkias.....

Talk, here, of engaging a singer. Who better than one who can
(as Joyce did) both sing and tell a story? Pun: de Reszke /
R. рассказ.

S 253.04,05: ...in the mouthart of the slove look at / me now
....I once was otherwise.....

Glugg talking (in the Children's Hour episode), reflecting on his Slavic origins. NB play on Slav and R./Cz./S. Bulgarian et al. slovo; pun on German Mundart.

332.32: Sdrats ye, Gus Paudheen!

Puns on how-do-you-do's of various nationalities crop up throughout FW. The R. здра[в]ст[вуйт]е, господин! appears to be the least elaborately concealed. Cf. (035.14,15): "Guinness/Thaw tool in jew me dinner ouzel fin?", which combines "Guinness is good for you!" and--(with a grateful tip of the hat to John Kelleher!)--Irish: Cionnus tá tú indiu, mo dhuine uasail fionn?; 016.04,05: "Come on, fool porterfull, hosiered women blown monker?" and "Comment vous portez-vous, mon cher blond monsieur?"

T 265.21: Tytonyhands and Vlossyhair....

From the Triv and Quad. Disreputables described. Polish dilations: tytoń (tobacco), tytanowy, tytaniczny, teutoński; włosy, włoski/włosi.

332.02:and a big treESCOoner...

The sea-rover's three-masted schooner personified as R. "Матрос"-трескун / Мороз-трескун.

V 120.31: illvoodawpeeHole

A scurrilous hybrid alluding to where the lady passes water. Cf. Bulgarian вода.

155.30: vremiament
(vraiment + R. время).

378.31: vulsyvolSy

A calque, here, for topsy-turvy.

621.20,21:Come! Give me your great bearspaw, padder avilky,...

Cf. R. нум; P. wilk(i), French à + R. вилки, Cz. velký, veliký.

W 492.10:My Wolossay's wild as the Crasnian Sea!

Anne Delittle, the diva, sings Russian through the bars. Puns: Wallasey (a town across the Mersey from Liverpool) and R. волосы; Eng. crass, R. root крас-.

Y 199.16:her meddery eygs, yayis,.....

The Washers at the ford tell how ALP took care of her lover--feeding him, inter alia, eggs. Pun: German ja, Eng. yes and P. jaje.

Z 234.15: zvesdals priestessd

Shem-as-Glugg, in his prime, surrounded by vestals. Cf. R. звезда.

502.05: zimalayars

Witness at the trial of HCE describes the time and place of the First Couple's meeting (with references to the white-caps in the waves of the bedclothes which lay in both hilly and even zimalayars: "cold layers" (cf. Cz. zima); "winter layers" (cf. R. зима); and, of course, Himalayas.

548.01: ...from Livland, hoks zivios, from Lettland, skall
 vives!

And, finally, a toast and/or salute to ALP--("Liv and let liv," only more gallantly stated). Apart from being alluded to in "Livland"--land of the living, the Liffey, and vives--she is both phonetically and lexically echoed in the Serbo-Croatian for "long live!"--živio.

Notes

1. Finnegans Wake, 240.21.
2. Abbreviations: FW = Finnegans Wake; HCE = Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker; ALP = Anna Livia Plurabelle; R. stands for Russian; Cz. for Czech; P. for Polish; S. for Serbo-Croatian. Page-and-line references (p. 24, 1.7 - 024.07) follow the standard abbreviation procedure used by students of FW. Underlining is, except where specified as being Joyce's, my own.
3. Vide Roman Jakobson's paper "Why Mama and Papa?" Selected Writings I, 1962, p. 538.

CONSTANTINE'S PROGLASĚ:
AN ACCENTOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

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0.0 Introduction. Constantine the Philosopher (St. Cyril) was not only the elaborator of the first Slavic alphabet but the first Slavic poet as well. Probably his most eminent poetic achievement was the ProglasĚ, which he wrote as a preface to his Old Church Slavonic translation of the Four Gospels. Both the rhetorical and metrical structure of this work patently presume one or a number of Byzantine models. More specifically, its metrical scheme--dodecasyllabic lines with either penthemimeral or hephthemimeral caesurae--links it undeniably with the Byzantine poetic tradition.

The noted Slovenian Slavist Rajko Nahtigal was one of a number of scholars to submit the ProglasĚ to a critical analysis and attempt its reconstruction; his paper "Rekonstrukcija treh starocrkvenoslovanskih izvirnih pesnitev" appeared in: Razprave, Akademija Znanosti i Umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozofsko-Filološko-Historični Razred, Prva Knjiga, XXI (1943), No. 2, pp. 41-156 [II, pp. 76-122]. In addition to a reconstruction of the text, Nahtigal wisely included a phonetic transcription in which stress and pitch were clearly marked for every word. Unfortunately, however, Nahtigal failed to inform his reader of the several accentological assumptions which had guided him in making a transcription. In this paper, my main task will be to comment on the place of accent (ictus) in those words of the ProglasĚ wherein Nahtigal's transcription seems to me to have misplaced the ictus. Pitch, however, will have to remain outside the scope of my commentary.

0.1 Nahtigal's transcription. The following is Nahtigal's phonetic transcription of the ProglasĚ. In commenting on it, I have disregarded the variant readings given in footnotes in order to concentrate on one complete reconstruction. Those words which I do not discuss have been found correct as transcribed. Aside from accentological failings and frequent inconsistencies, the reader might do well to notice Nahtigal's misplacement of caesurae, as in lines 30 and 56.

- 1 PröglasĚ jesmĚ | svĕtu jevanġ'ĕlbju:
Jĕko proröci | proreklĭ sötĕ préžĕde,
Hristĕ grĕdĕtĕ | sĕbĕrĕtĕ jezýkĕ,
Svĕtĕ bo jestĕ | vĕsĕmĭ mĭru semĭ.
- 5 Sĕ sĕbĭstĕ sĕ | vĕ sedmĕjĕ vĕkĕ sĕ.
Rĕšĕ bo onĭ: | slĕpiji prozĕrĕtĕ,
Glĕsi slýšĕtĕ | slövo búkĕvĕnoje.
Bögĕ že ŭbo | poznĕti dostojĭtĕ.
Togö že rĕdi | slýšite, Slovéne, (sí):
- 10 Dĕrĕ bo jestĕ | otĕ Bögĕ sĕ danĕ,
Dĕrĕ böžĕjĕ | jestĕ dĕšnyjĕ čĕsti,
Dĕrĕ dušĕmĕ, | niköliže tĕlĕjĕ,

- Dušámъ tѣmъ, | jѣže i priimotъ.
- Matѣfѣjъ, Márko, | Luká i Ioánъ
- 15 Učѣtъ vѣsъ | naròdъ glagòlqšte:
 Jèliko bo svojihъ || dušъ lèpotq
 Víditъ, l'ubíte bo || rádovati sę,
 Grěhòvъnq že | tѣmq otъgъnátì
 I mîra segò | tѣl'q otъbložítì
- 20 I râjъskoje | žitъjè (pri)obrěstì
 I izběžátì | otъ ognì gòròšta.
 Slýšite nýně | otъ svojegò umâ,
 Slýšite, slovénъskъ || naròdъ vѣsъ,
 Slýšite slòvo | otъ Bòga prîide,
 25 slòvo že krmé | člověčъskyję dūšę,
 slòvo že krěpé | (i) sř'dьce i umъ,
 slòvo sè gotòvaję || Bògъ poznátì.
 Jâko bєsvěta | rádotъ ne bòdetъ
 òku vídeštu | bòžъjò tvârъ vѣsq,
 30 Nъ vѣse ni lèpo ni | vídimo jestъ,
 Tâko i dušá | vѣsaká bez búkъvъ,
 Ne svědòštì | zakòna (že) bòžъja,
 Zakòna kьnížъna || (i) duhòvъna,
 Zakòna rájъ | bòžъjъ javlájòšta.
- 35 Kъjѣ bo slûhъ, | gròmnajego tѣtъna
 Ne slýšę, Bòga | mòžetъ bojátì sę?
 Nòzdri že páky, | cvěta ne óhajòštì,
 Kâko bòžъje | čúdo razumějete?
 Ustá bo, jáže | sladъkâ ne čújotъ,
 40 Jâko káměň | tvorětъ (že) člověkъ.
 Páče že segò | dušá bezbúkъvъna
 Javlájetъ sę | vъ člověcěhъ mr'tvá.
 Sè že vѣse mý, | brátъje, smýslęšte,
 Glagòlemъ světъ || podobájòštъ,
 45 Ěže člověky | vѣsę otъlòčítъ
 Otъ žitъjâ | skòtъska i pòhotì,
 Da ne ĩmqšte | umъ nєrazumbъnъ,
 Tuždemъ jęzýkomъ || slýšęšte slòvo,
 Jâko mēdъna zvòna || glâsъ slýšite.
 50 Sè bo světъjъ | Pávъlъ učę rěče:
 Molítvq svojò | vъzdaję přěžde Bògu,

- Jâko hošťô slovesè || pětъ izdrešťí,
 Sъ razumomè (svojimè glagòlati),
 Da i vĕše brátъja || razumějotъ,
 55 Nĕže tĕmô slovesè || nerazumĕnĕ.
 Kъjĕ bo človékъ ne || razuméjetъ,
 Kъjĕ ne prilòžitъ || pritĕčĕ mòdrý,
 Sъkazájôšťĕ | besédy právy námъ?
 Jâko bo tĕla | plĕtĕhĕ nastojítъ,
 60 Vĕše tĕlĕšťí, | páče gnòja gnojĕšťí,
 Jegdà svojegò | brášĕna ne imátъ,
 Tâko dušá vĕsáká || opadájetъ
 Žízni, bòžĕja | ne imôšťí životâ,
 Jegdà slovesè | bòžĕja ne slýšitъ.
 65 Inô že páky | pritĕčo mòdrô dzĕlo
 Da glagòlĕmъ, | človéci, lŭbĕšĕ se,
 Hòtĕšĕ rasti | bòžĕjemъ rastomĕ.
 Kýtò bo véry sejë || ne véstъ právy?
 Jâko sémeni | pádajôšťu na nívě,
 70 Tâko na sr'dĕcíhĕ || človéčĕscĕhĕ,
 Dĕždâ bòžĕjĕ | búkĕvĕ trébujôšťĕ,
 Da vĕzdrastĕtъ | plòdĕ bòžĕjĕ páče.
 Kýtò mòžetъ | pritĕčĕ vĕsĕ (rešťí),
 Obličájôšťĕ bes kĕnĭgъ jezýky,
 75 Vĕ glâsĕ sŭmýslĕnĕ | ne glagòl'ôšťĕ?
 Ni, ašĕ uméjetъ | jezýky vĕsĕ,
 Mòžetъ sŭkazáti | nĕmošĕ sihĕ.
 Obáče svojô | pritĕčo da pristáv'lo,
 Mĕnògъ umĕ | vĕ málĕ rĕčí kažĕ:
 80 Nâdzi bo vĕsi | bes kĕnĭgъ jezýci
 Brátĭ se ne mògôšťĕ || bez orôžĕjâ
 Sĕ protivĕnikomĕ || dušĕ nášihĕ,
 Gotòvi mòky | véčĕnyjĕ vĕ plĕnĕ.
 Îže bo vrâga, | jezýci, ne l'úbite,
 85 Brátĭ že se sĕ sĕmĕ || mýslešĕ dzĕlo,
 Otvr'zĕte pri|lĕžĕno umû dvĕri,
 Orôžĕjĕ pri|imĕšĕ tvř'do nŭnĕ,
 Jĕže kujotĕ | kĕnĭgy gòspodĕnĕ,
 Glâvô tĕrôšťĕ | neprijázni velĕmĭ.
 90 Búkvĕvi sĕjĕ, | îže bo priimĕtъ,

- Môdrostь (tomû) | Hristòsь glagòl'etь
 I dûšę vâšę | (búkьvami) krěpítь,
 Apòstoly že | sь proròky vьs(ěmì).
 Íže bo sihè | slovesá glagòl'òš'te
 95 Podòbьni bôdòtь | vrâga ubítì,
 Pòbêdò prinòseš'te | kь Bògu dobrò,
 Plàti bêžęš'te | těl'ę gnòjevьnyję,
 Plàti, jejěže | životě jâko vь sně,
 Ne pádajòš'te, | krěpkò že stòješ'te,
 100 Kь Bogu javlěš'e sę || jâko hrabьrì,
 Stòješ'te o dèsnòjò || bòžьja prěstolâ,
 Jegdà ognьmь | sòdíť jęzýkomь,
 Rádujòš'te sę | sь ány'ely vь věky,
 Prísno sláveš'te | Bògь mílostivьjь
 105 Kьnížьnami | vьšęgdà (že) pésnyimi,
 Bògu pòjòš'te, | člověky mílujòš'tu.
 Tomû podabájetь || vsáká sláva,
 Čěstь i hvalá, | bòžьjь sínu, vьnò
 Sь otьcemь | i světyjimь duhomь
 110 Vь věky vekě | otь vьšęjě tvâri.
 Amínь.

1.0 Commentary

1.1 Major assumptions. The language of the Proglas is ninth-century Old Church Slavonic which, to all intents and purposes, need not be differentiated from Late Common Slavic [LateComSl]. (Lunt, x)

1.01 In the great majority of cases both Modern Russian [R] and Old Russian [OR] (along with Ukrainian and Belorussian) have faithfully preserved Common Slavic [ComSlav] ictus and are therefore the most reliable source and touchstone with respect to place of accent in ComSlav. (Bulaxovskij, 259-260).

1.02 The neo-acute intonation was a LateComSl phenomenon, was not due to metatony, and owed its existence to a retraction of ictus from a stressed vowel onto a previously unstressed one. (Stang, 168)

1.2 Neo-Acute. In the following words Nahtigal, evidently operating with the ill-founded notion that Old Church Slavonic (equals LateComSl) was accentually archaic and conservative, failed to take into account a retraction of ictus from a final jer in mobile and end-stressed paradigms; comparative evidence clearly indicates, however, that such a retraction did indeed take place in LateComSl: dušě (lines 16 and 18, words 4 and 3 respectively), plьtьhè (59:4), umè (26:7, 47:4, 79:2), Hristè

(3:1), otъcemъ (109:2), životъ (98:3), věkъ (110:3), ognъmъ (103:2), slovesъ (52:3, 55:3), sr'dьcihъ (70:3). All these words should have been transcribed with ictus on the penult. (Stang, 168)

1.201 jesmъ (1:2), jestъ (4:3, 10:3, 30:7), sotъ (2:3): these are representatives of the present tense of byti which itself belonged to the category of athematic verbs. Čakavian (Novi) jě [3rd sing.] and sú [3rd pl.] display neo-acute, the latter enclitic being supported by neo-acutes in Czech jsou, Polish sa, and Slovincian soy. As for jesmъ, Čak. (Novi) dán [1st sing.], Štokavski dām, Slovenian dām, Czech dám, Slovincian dóum all bespeak a neo-acute arising from retraction of ictus in the 1st sing. of athematic verbs. Therefore, these words should have been transcribed with ictus on the penult. (Stang, 127-S)

1.202 kujotъ (88:2), prozreťe (6:5), tvoreťe (40:3), učetъ (15:1): the first word is an example of a pure thematic verb with end stress in EarlyComSl, but retracted onto the non-terminal suffix with neo-acute intonation in LateComSl; cf. Čak. tresú, Slovenian [Slov.] pletó [3rd pl.]. Similarly, the latter three words are exemplars of end-stressed i-stem verbs in which the ictus was likewise retracted, in turn engendering a neo-acute; cf. Čak. želé [3rd pl.]. Again, therefore, these words should have been transcribed with ictus on the penult. (Stang, 109; 119)

1.203 vsěmí (93:5), tuždemъ (48:1), ńimъ (85:5), sihъ (77:4, 94:3), svojihъ (16:3): Čak. nín shows no neo-acute, indicating that EarlyComSl *jimъ gave LateComSl *jímъ; Czech jím confirms this. Štok. túd, Čak. túji indicate neo-acute due to retraction of ictus. As for the remaining words, a twofold explanation can be given: Čak. tíh, tín, tími [gen., dat., instr. pl.] hint at a neo-acute due to retraction of ictus in the pronominal declension; Czech těch, těm, těmi suggest an old circumflex, that is to say, original root stress in the plural; Štok. tíjeh, tíjem may represent either intonation. But in any case, Nahtigal's notation is indefensible for LateComSl prosody. (Stang 106-107; Belić, 232)

1.204 prítěče (57:4, 73:3), prítěčo (65:4, 78:3): Štok. prîča and Slov. prîča indicate a possible neo-acute, although for lack of the Čakavski form of this word in the literature accessible to me, I am unable to confirm it. However, R. prîtča, Ukrainian [Ukr.] prýčta, Belorussian [Belor.] prýtča, Bulgarian [Bulg.] prîtča seem to present more than adequate proof of a LateComSl form with ictus on the prepositional component. Still, neo-acute is not ruled out; cf. Stang's explanation (57-59) for words like R. vólja, kljátva, etc., from *volêja, *kletêva in EarlyComSl.

1.3 otъ Bôga (10:4.5, 24:3.4): here we have an instance of the syntagma "preposition plus substantive" which came to be stressed in an interesting way in Balto-Slavic (Šaxmatov's Law). In ComSlav circumflex and original short intonations could only occur in initial syllables, which fact gave rise to the assumption that in those cases where these intonations were earlier found in medial syllables, they would subsequently recede one syllable closer to the beginning of the word or word group

(syntagma). And since prepositions were proclitic with the substantive they preceded, the initial syllable of the substantive acted phonetically as a medial syllable, whereupon the ictus regularly retracted onto the preposition. Of those modern Slavic languages which have preserved free stress, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian display this prosodic feature with a varying degree of regularity. In the case under discussion, Štok. òd boga, Čak. òd boga, and accentually kindred forms in Russian proverbs (Даль: пораньше просыпайся, да зà бога хватайся; все мы пòд богом ходим) combine to cement my argument that this syntagma should be stressed on the prepositional component. (Leskien, 195; Belić, 209; Bulaxovskij, 263-264; see also my paper "К вопросу о месте ударения в сочетаниях типа на руку," Russian Language Journal, XXI/79 [1967], 53-67.)

1.4 pòbědo (96:1): the problem presented by this word is rather complex. In composita formed by the union of prepositions and a-stem feminine substantives, Russian distinguishes--with rare exceptions--only one type, viz. with ictus on the root syllable of the substantival component, e.g. dosáda, natúga, zabáva, opóra, etc. Bulgarian and Slovenian are in accord with Russian in this regard: Bulg. osnóva, zapláta, pregráda, etc.; Slov. dosêga, navâla, odmêna, zagrâda, etc. Štokavski, on the other hand, comprehends two accentual types, viz. [1] with rising intonation on the preposition resulting from Stokavian retraction of ictus, e.g. náuka, zábava, òtava, pòdkova, etc.; and [2] with short falling intonation--a type almost completely unknown to Russian, Bulgarian, or Slovenian--e.g. òdmjena (R. otmêna, Slov. odmêna), pòkora (R. pokóra, Slov. pokôra), prìgoda (R. prigóda, Slov. prigôda), ràsprava (R. raspráva, Slov. razpráva), etc. Since Slovenian displacement of ictus forward, as in bòg, gen. bogâ, mesô, is confined to syllables with originally falling intonation--cf. Štok. bòga, mêso--we could surmise that Slov. odmêna, prigôda, pokôra are secondary developments going back to Old Slovenian òdmèna, prìgoda, pòkora just in case the prepositional components were indeed falling. However, Štok. evidence alone confutes such a surmise. Judging by the intonation in modern Štok. syntagmata of the type nà poruku = *nà pòruku, òd zagrādē = *òd zàgradē, the implication would be that the prepositional components of the composita in question originally bore rising (not falling!) pitch; for if pò- and zà- were originally falling, the modern Štok. intonation would have to be *nà poruku and *òd zagrādē, the rule in such cases being: old rising intonation on root syllables of substantives remains rising upon retraction onto a preposition, e.g. bràta, òd brata; falling remains falling, e.g. strānu, nà strānu. Taking all the foregoing arguments into account and invoking assumption 1.02, I come to the conclusion that Štok. pòbeda is a secondary analogical development, whereas R. pobéda represents the ComSlav state of affairs. (Leskien, 189-194)

1.5 duhomè (109:5): R. dux, dúxa, dúxom [nom., gen., instr.]; Ukr. dux, dúxa, dúxom; Štok. dūh, duha, duhom; Slov. dūh, duhā, dūhom; Bulg. duxét all testify to the incontrovertible fact that this word was root stressed throughout the singular in LateComSl. Nahtigal's notation is puzzling to say the least. Still more conclusive evidence is furnished by Štok. u dūhu [Vuk] and R.

na duxú.

1.6 protivnikomè (82:2): R. protivnik, Štok pròtivnik, and Slov. protivnik render Nahtigal's accentuation highly unlikely, if not completely impossible.

1.7 rastomè (67:4): R. rost, rósta, róstom; Ukr. rist, róstu, róstom; Štok. râst, râsta, râstom; Slov. râst, râsta, râstom taken together preclude the possibility of original non-root stress in the singular.

1.8 razumomè (53:2): R. rázum [granted, a Church Slavic borrowing for an autochthonous *rôzum, but nevertheless valid], Bulg. rázum, and Štok. ràzūm are indication enough that this word should be reconstructed with ictus on the prepositional component throughout the paradigm in LateComSl. Vuk's Štokavian locative razúmu only clinches the argument. (Leskien, 187)

1.9 hrabrî (100:6): this is putatively the masc. pl. form of a substantive that has been lost in the modern Slavic languages. However, the several adjectival forms extant today--R. [dial.] xoróbryj, Ukr. xoróbryj, Štok. hrábar, Bulg. xrábr, Polish chrobry--permit us to posit for ComSlav a form *xorbrъ, which, on the basis of the East Slavic forms, had a diphthong -or- that displayed rising intonation. Now, there are no examples (except korol') of such târt words with original end-stressed paradigms, R. vrag, vragá being a Russian innovation. Consequently, Nahtigal's accentuation appears untenable.

1.10 čèsti (11:5), plǎti (97:1, 98:1): these words belong to i-stems with mobile-stress paradigms, i.e. root stress in the singular [except in loc.] and end stress in the oblique forms of the plural; cf. R. čast', části, v častí ['in the lockup'; obsolete], gen. pl. častěj; Štok. čast, části; R. plot', plóti, [angel] vo plotí; Štok. pút, pǔti. However, the gen. sing., which is the case under discussion, presents several complications. Stang (87) follows Kuryłowicz (265) in noting that "occasionally in Russian, after the prepositions iz and do, we find end-stress in the gen. sing. of the i-stems: beside Tvéri, pěči, grjazi we find iz Tverí, iz pěčí, iz grjazí, do pečí, do stepí, do kostí." Of course, if either Stang or Kuryłowicz were more conversant with Russian they would have known that this phenomenon is by no means limited to only two prepositions or even to prepositional phrases. In point of actual fact, contemporary standard Russian grud', gluš', Perm', Tver', Rus', os', Ket', Ob', Tom' display end stress in all oblique forms of the singular save the instrumental. In Russian dialects this trait is also not unknown. Furthermore, Lithuanian end stress in the gen. sing. of i-stems--e.g. širdiės--supports Stang's assumption of end stress in this case for ComSlav and subsequent retraction of ictus in the separate languages. Examples adduced by Stang from the Čudovskij New Testament--plotí, smertí, jarostí, nemoščí, revností--are but further proof. However, all this does not exclude the possibility of a stress doublet in ComSlav. Therefore, Nahtigal's accentuation is possible, but not probable. (Stang, 87; Kuryłowicz, 265; Граматика русского языка, 205)

1.11 orožbja (81:6), orožbje (87:1): the existence of R. [dial.] oružje, Slov. oróžje notwithstanding, I am inclined to attach decisive weight to R. [Church Slavonic borrowing] orúžje, Štok. ōrūžje, and Bulg. orúžie.

1.12 prěstolâ (101:5): in view of R. prestól, prestóla and Štok. préstō, préstola I tend to disregard Slov. préstol, pre-stóla. Nahtigal, being Slovenian, evidently did not.

1.13 slovesè (64:2): it is true that end-stressed singulars of s-stems are common enough in Russian Church Slavonic texts, but Slov. črevô, črevêsa; drevô, drevêsa; slovô, slovêsa, etc. point to the same accentuation on the initial syllable throughout the singular. (Stang, 94-95)

1.14 kъjè (35:1, 55:1, 56:1, 57:1): R. koj, kójego suggest original root stress for this word which was formed through the coalescence of the pronouns kъ and *jъ. It is significant that we have before us the only pronoun of this type in modern Russian which does not evince stress on the ultima in oblique cases! Cf. also Russian Church Slavonic vskúju from vъz- plus the fem. of kyjъ. As for Štok. kòjī, kòjā, kòjē, certainly, short rising intonation cannot be attributed to retraction of ictus, but rather to analogy with kò, kòga, kòmu, etc. Further proof is furnished by Čak. kī, kōga, kōmu, etc., where neo-acute is obviously absent. (Leskien, 451)

1.15 dēsnyje (11:4), dēsnojo (101:3), slépiji (6:4), světъjъ (50:3), světyjъmъ (109:4): if Nahtigal chose to stress sedmъjъ (5:5) on the penult, then he should have followed suit with the above three adjectives, all having end stress in Russian: desnój [cf. the adverb odesnúju], slepój, svjatój. The problem of re-constructing ictus in ComSlav compound adjectives with mobile stress is extremely tricky. In fact, investigators have so far been able to proffer only conjectures, not cogent arguments. The question of ictus in the words under discussion is, consequently, still open to debate. (Stang, 102-104)

1.16 něrazumъnъ (47:5), nerazumъnè (55:4): justification for either of these partly contradictory accentuations can hardly be offered. R. nerazúmnyj, Slov. nerazúmen are not in themselves sufficient proof, true, but at least they neutralize any importance that might attach to Štok. něrazūman.

1.17 gòspodъnъ (88:4): R. gospóden', Slov. gospódnji; R. gospódski, Štok. gòspodski make me doubt the veracity of Nahtigal's notation. However, the aberrance of the nominal paradigm in Russian--gospód', gòspoda, [voc.] gòspodi; cf. Slov. gospòd, Štok. gòspòd--might just signify a stress doublet in ComSlav itself(?).

1.18 gnòjevъnyje (97:4): this accentuation seems highly unlikely since the adjectival suffix -evn-yj in Russian invariably bears ictus on the -evn- constituent, e.g. dušévnyj, plačévnyj, [obsolete] dnévnyj, etc. (Грамматика русского языка, 347-348)

1.19 ъśaká (31:4, 62:3, 107:3), krěpkò (99:3), sladъkà [= gen. sing. neuter] (39:4): these words were undoubtedly root-stressed in LateComSl; cf. R. [archaic] vsjak, vsjâka, vsjâko; Štok. svâk, svâka, svâko; R. krěpkij, krěpko; Štok. krěpak, krěpko; R. slădkij, slădko [Church Slavic borrowing], Štok. slădak, slătko. (Leskien, 382)

1.20 mòdrô (65:5): in ComSlavic the uncompounded adjective was accentually tantamount to a substantive. Therefore, just as ictus was retracted in accusative of feminines of the golová, gólovu type, so nom. sing. fem. mòdrâ must have alternated with acc. mòdro. This state of affairs is well preserved in the Dubrovnik dialect of Serbo-Croatian. (Leskien, 382-383; Stang, 100; Belić, 231)

1.21 inô (65:1): Bulg. în, îna, îno; Štok. în; Lith. înas combine to make end stress in the feminine improbable. But even if one were to admit LateComSl *inâ [nom. sing. fem.], the same situation as described above in 1.20 would apply here, viz. ictus would be retracted onto the initial syllable in the acc. sing. Note that Nahtigal contradicts himself with výno (108:6).

1.22 prilòžiti (57:3), otylóčiti (45:4): these words should bear stress on the -i- of the verbal stem; cf. R. ložús', ložíš'sja; Štok. lòžim, lòžíš; Slov. -ložím, -ložíš; R. slučús', slučíš'sja. (Stang, 109; 113)

1.23 krmě (25:3), krěpě (26:3), učě (50:5): in end stressed i-stem verbs the present active participles were almost certainly root-stressed, as Stang has shown; cf. R. stója, lěža, gljádja, sídja, mólča, etc.; Slov. gledě, sedě, ležě, stojě, močě, etc. (Stang, 139-140)

1.24 běžešte (97:2), gòrpšta (21:5), mògpšte (81:4), pòjpšte (106:2), stòjpšte (99:5, 101:1), hòtešte (67:1): these old gerunds should all bear ictus on the ultima, according to the schema posited by Stang for ComSlav; the details are too numerous to list here. Cf. OR mogučí, stojačí; Štok. hotěci, etc. (Stang 138-140; Leskien 554-556)

1.25 imâtъ (61:5), îmošte (47:3), imoští (63:4), priimètъ (90:5), priimotъ (13:5): first of all, the gerundial forms are contradictory since there is absolutely no reason for assuming mobility among oblique forms of the same paradigm. If we are to give credence to Stang's supposition that athematic ComSlav imati, imam... was originally root-stressed in the singular and end-stressed in the plural, then we would be more consistent in preferring neither of Nahtigal's gerundial accentuations and simply establishing a stress doublet here. Similarly, again with Stang, we would then require imâtъ, priimetъ, priimotъ [neo-acute]. (Stang, 138-140; Leskien, 554-556)

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As has been pointed out recently, Jurij Olesha's artistically most successful short stories form a cycle in which Olesha investigates the metaphysical problem of appearance and reality.¹ The manner in which this central problem is stated and treated varies with each story. Almost all the stories are constructed in the form of a dichotomy of old world values and traditions versus those of the new world. Thus, on one level of interpretation the stories are quite "political." The one exception to this general rule is the story Лиомпа. This story is completely devoid of any political or ideological element, and it is this very fact which lifts the story onto a higher level of relevance and universality.

Лиомпа, written in 1928, is very short and quite actionless. There are only three protagonists in the story: Ponomarev, an old man on his death-bed, Aleksandr, a boy of about ten who is engaged in constructing an airplane model, and a nameless younger boy. Each one of these characters represents one manner of perceiving the external world.

The dying Ponomarev, a bachelor, has apparently led a life in which solipsism was the guiding principle. He cannot perceive the world and its phenomena other than as extensions of his own self:

"...Я думал, что мира внешнего не существует,...
я думал, что глаз мой и слух управляют вещами,
я думал, что мир перестанет существовать, когда
перестану существовать я." [p. 273]²

So convinced is Ponomarev of the validity of his solipsism that he even attempts to frighten the incomprehending little boy with the terror of solipsism:

"...Ты знаешь, когда я умру, ничего не останется.
Ни двора, ни дерева, ни папы, ни мамы. Я заберу
с собой все." [p. 273]

Now on his deathbed, Ponomarev perceives the world as being a continuous process of disappearance. Objects of all kinds are beginning to leave his immediate sphere of perception:

...С каждым днем количество вещей уменьшалось....
Сперва количество вещей уменьшалось по периферии,
далеко от него; затем уменьшение стало приближаться
все скорее к центру, к нему, к сердцу — во
двор, в дом, в коридор, в комнату. [p. 271]

In his solipsism Ponomarev concludes that death is "closing in" on him: "...он знал: смерть по дороге к нему уничтожает вещи."

But Ponomarev's solipsism is fundamentally a false concept, for objects and phenomena not only exist outside Ponomarev's immediate perception of them, but even lead a kind of life of their own. To prove his contention, Olesha saturates his story with descriptions of a multitude of objects, often animated, and with personifications intended to counteract Ponomarev's fear that everything around him is disappearing in direct proportion to the speed of his approaching death. Before the reader is introduced to Ponomarev and his solipsism, Olesha bombards the reader with a long description of various objects and actions:

Кухня выходила на двор; была весна, двери не закрывались, у порога росла трава, блестела пролитая на камень вода. В сорном ящике появлялась крыса. В кухне жарили мелко нарезанную картошку. Зажигали примус. Жизнь примуса начиналась пышно: факелом до потолка. Умирал он кротким синим огнем. В кипятке прыгали яйца. Один жилец варил раков. Живого рака брал он двумя пальцами за талию. Раки были зеленоватого, водопроводного цвета. Из крана вылетали вдруг сами по себе две-три капельки. Кран тихо сморкался. Потом наверху заговаривали несколькими голосами трубы. Тогда сразу определялись сумерки. Один лишь стакан продолжал сиять на подоконнике. Он получал сквозь жалюзи последние лучи солнца. Кран разговаривал. Вокруг плиты начиналось разнохарактерное шевеление и потрескивание. [p. 270]

The passage brims with a dynamism and variety of life which are almost impossible to take in all at once. Ponomarev is, of course, incapable of perceiving this multitude of life. Blinded by his solipsism, he has lost his ability to grasp the reality of life which surrounds him: "Он потерял право выбирать вещи." All there remains for him are abstractions: "...то, что плоть вещи исчезала от него, а абстракция оставалась, — было для него мучительно."

The second mode of perception is represented by the boy Aleksandr. His world is filled with discovery, action, curiosity and phenomena endless in number and variety:

...Он резал пальцы, истекал кровью, сорил стружками, пачкал клеем, выпрашивал шелк, плакал, получал подзатыльники. [pp. 271-272]

Вокруг мальчика располагались резиновые жгуты, проволока, планки, шелк, легкая чайная ткань шелка, запах клея. Сверкало небо. Насекомые ходили по камню. В камне окаменела ракушка. [p. 272]

The petrified shell may be taken to symbolize life before Ponomarev, and further serves to counteract his solipsism.

For Aleksandr the world is orderly and rational. He knows and acts according to the laws of nature:

...он действовал в полном согласии с наукой. Модель строилась по чертежу, производились вычисления, — мальчик знал законы. [p. 272]

Aleksandr already knows and understands a great deal about the world around him and he accepts it all as a matter of fact. Abstractions do not fill him with dread as they do Ponomarev. And because Aleksandr does not yet fully comprehend the notion of death, he is not subject to the kind of solipsistic angst from which Ponomarev suffers.

The third and final mode of perception is represented in Лиомпа by the nameless young boy. Much younger even than Aleksandr, this young boy perceives the world as almost total mystery. The world has just begun to reveal itself to him. The boy perceives without really comprehending what it is he is perceiving. Thus when he sees Ponomarev on the deathbed:

...Он думал, что в мире всегда было и бывает так:
бородатый человек лежит в комнате на кровати. [p. 272]

For the boy the world is not quite real yet as he attempts to comprehend its meaning and essence. More often than not it slips his grasp:

...Он видел паркетные плитки, пыль под плинтусом, трещины на штукатурке. Вокруг него слагались и распределялись линии, жили тела. Получался вдруг световой фокус, — мальчик спешил к нему, но едва успевал сделать шаг, как перемена расстояния уничтожала фокус, — и мальчик оглядывался, смотрел вверх и вниз, смотрел за печку, искал — и растерянно разводил руками, не находя. Каждая секунда создавала ему новую вещь. Удивителен был паук. Паук улетел при одной мысли мальчика потрогать паука рукой. [p. 272]

Thus both the boy and Ponomarev are attempting to catch hold of things which elude them, but for Ponomarev it is an act of desperation, something which might postpone the inevitable for yet another moment. The young boy on the other hand has all his tomorrows.

In his desperate attempt to halt the fleeting world of reality, Ponomarev is seized by an *idée fixe*: he will continue to live as long as he does not conceptualize the name of the rat that has been scurrying about the kitchen. Try as he might, Ponomarev cannot stop himself and the strange word "лиомпа" (the name he believes the rat calls itself) bursts forth from his throat. That very moment Ponomarev knows that he will die. Early the following morning, in a completely feverish state, Ponomarev wanders about the house. In the next two images Olesha "realizes" the main metaphor of the story of "things flying away from Ponomarev."

...Он шел забирать вещи. [p. 274]

Olesha completes the metaphor as the last object Ponomarev is able to perceive before his death is Aleksandr's model airplane:

Он не забрал ее. Она улетела. [p. 274]

The last scene in *Лиомпа*, the description of Ponomarev after his death, is constructed by Olesha in such a way as to show once more the central motifs of the story — Ponomarev's struggle against death and the different modes of perception.

Ponomarev dies during the day and a coffin is brought for him, but there is great difficulty in moving the coffin into Ponomarev's room. It is as though in death he were still struggling against death:

...Пришлось долго и всячески поворачивать гроб, чтобы пронести в дверь. Задели полку, кастрюлю, посыпалась штукатурка. Мальчик Александр влез на плиту и помог, поддерживая ящик снизу. [p. 274]

And so the young generation must of necessity have a hand in the death of the old.

The last three images in the story serve to summarize the three modes of perception as represented by the three protagonists. Before the coffin is forced into Ponomarev's room, we see it through Aleksandr's eyes. As seen by him it is merely

an "object," not particularly ominous, and even beautiful:

Днем в кухне появился голубой, с желтыми украшениями гроб. [p. 274]

Once the coffin penetrates into Ponomarev's room it changes appearance and it is as though we were seeing it from Ponomarev's point of view:

...гроб проник, наконец, в коридор, сделавшись сразу черным,... [p. 274]

The last view of the coffin is that of the nameless young boy whose perception and comprehension of the world are so rudimentary that he runs into Ponomarev's room shouting the closing ironic last words of the story:

— Дедушка! Дедушка! — закричал он. — Тебе гроб принесли. [p. 274]

Notes

1. William E. Harkins, "The Philosophical Stories of Jurij Olesha," Orbis Scriptus, Dmitrij Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag (München, 1966), pp. 349-354.
2. All textual references to Лиомпа are to Ю. Олеша, Избранные Сочинения (Москва, 1956).

PART OF SPEECH IN ROOTS AND THE
ZERO-SUFFIX IN RUSSIAN

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In the following discussion the term "suffix" refers to a derivational suffix only, while the term "ending" designates an inflectional suffix. Russian words used as examples are given in transliteration in italic type; structural components of words are given in morphophonemic transcription in roman type, with roots in upper-case letters. # designates zero. The following abbreviations are used: N - nominal, A - adjectival, V - verbal.

1. A Russian root is a component element in a word and is not in itself a word or a part of speech. Nevertheless, most Russian roots are quite definitely associated with specific parts of speech, and we may call such roots nominal (N), adjectival (A) or verbal (V) according to whether they are associated with, respectively, nouns, adjectives or verbs.¹ Empirically speaking, a root is N, A or V because of its meaning; e.g., RIB 'fish' is N, ZEŁON 'green' is A, and TRAS 'shake' is V. Yet it is also possible to assess the character of a root according to formal criteria; specifically according to the types of endings and suffixes with which it is combined in inflection and word-formation.

2. In non-suffixed words the root type determines the part of speech; i.e., a N root is combined with a N ending to form a noun, an A root with an A ending to form an adjective, and a V root with a V ending to form a verb. E.g.:

RIB	-a	>	<i>ryba</i>	'fish'
ZEŁON	-oj	>	<i>zelěnyj</i>	'green'
TRAS	-ut	>	<i>trjasut</i>	'they shake'

3. In suffixed words, however, the role of part-of-speech maker passes to the suffix, and the endings added are N, A or V, according to whether the suffix is N, A or V.² Hence, the part of speech of the suffixed word frequently differs from that associated with the root; e.g.:

RIB	(N root)	-#n-	(A suffix)	-oj	>	<i>rybnoj</i>	'fish (adj)'
ZEŁON	(A root)	-ej-	(V suffix)	-ut	>	<i>zelenejut</i>	'they become green'
TRAS	(V root)	-#k-	(N suffix)	-a	>	<i>trjaska</i>	'shaking'

4. Many suffixes are limited as to the type or types of roots they may be combined with, and hence the type of suffix used with a given root may serve as a formal criterion for specifying root (and in cases where the analyst's semantic evaluation of a root leaves doubt as to the part of speech with which it is associated, this may be the sole or major criterion). For example, RIB is a N root not only because of its meaning but may be regarded as such in terms of its combination with the N diminutive suffix -#k-, which is combined only with nouns (*rybka* 'little fish'); ZEŁON is combined with the N suffix -ost'-, which is combined only with adjectives (*zelěnost'* 'greenness');

TRAS is combined with the abstract N suffix -#k-, which makes abstract nouns of action only from verbs (*trjaska* 'shaking'). A root like STROJ 'build' may be assessed as V on the basis of such deverbative nouns as *strojka* and *stroj*, whereas the verbality of the root cannot be assumed from the verb *stroit*, since the V suffix -i- builds verbs from non-V as well as V roots (e.g., *bombit* 'bomb' from the N root BOMB 'bomb;' *krepit* 'strengthen' from the A root KREP 'strong;' as well as *govorit* 'talk, say' from the V root GOVOR 'talk, say').

5. A quite small number of Russian roots have evolved in such a way that they are associated with more than one part of speech, but the meanings and processes involved are quite specifiabale. Most typically, a N root acquires a V status and a somewhat different meaning; e.g., BED, with the N meaning 'trouble, disaster,' has acquired the V meaning 'defeat, (Latin -vince, vict-),' and the N root CEN 'price' evolved a verbal meaning 'evaluate.' The verbality of these roots is evident in words like *pobeda* 'victory' and *ocenka* 'evaluation,' whose suffixes, zero (see below) and -#k-, are combined only with verbal elements in abstract nouns.

6. A number of Russian words appear to be unsuffixed and yet, from their meaning and the fact that they are different parts of speech from their underlying roots, it is clear that they are derived words. Since endings alone do not build words, and since we have seen above that they cannot change the part of speech, we presume the existence of a zero-suffix between the root and the ending. The zero-suffix is just like any other suffix: it makes a part of speech and (like most suffixes) it has a meaning. We may distinguish three³ zero-suffixes: a) a N suffix which builds nouns with abstract⁴ meaning from verbs and adjectives; b) an A suffix which builds compound adjectives based on phrases consisting of adjective or the preposition *bez* plus nouns designating a part of the body; and c) a N suffix which makes masculine compound nouns of agent in combination with a verbal root, which is normally the second element of the compound; the first element is usually a complement of the action expressed by the verb, but it may modify the action in some way or, in rare cases, be the subject of it.⁵

Here are examples of the three zero-suffixes:

a) Zero-suffixed (non-compound) nouns with abstract meaning

		<u>Deverbative (frequent)</u>				<u>Compare</u>
XOD	'go'	-#-	-# >	<i>xod</i>	'motion'	<i>xodit</i> ' ⁶
pri ⁷ XOD	'come to'	-#-	-# >	<i>pri⁷xod</i>	'arrival'	<i>pri⁷xodit</i> '
v#-XOD	'go in'	-#-	-# >	<i>vxod</i>	'entrance'	<i>vxodit</i> '
po-KAZ	'show'	-#-	-# >	<i>pokaz</i>	'showing'	<i>pokazat</i> '
za-KAZ	'order'	-#-	-# >	<i>zakaz</i>	'order'	<i>zakazat</i> '
STROJ	'build'	-#-	-# >	<i>stroj</i>	'structure'	<i>stroit</i> ' ⁸
v#z-GLAD	'glance'	-#-	-# >	<i>vzgljad</i>	'glance'	<i>vzglja(δ)-^{nut}</i>
po-BED	'conquer'	-#-	-a >	<i>pobeda</i>	'victory'	<i>pobedit</i> '
ME ⁹ N	'change'	-#-	-a >	<i>mena</i>	'change'	<i>menjat</i> '

ot#-MEN	'abolish'	-#- -a	>	otmena	'abolition'	otmenit'
s#- YAZ	'connect'	-#- -#	>	svjaz' ⁹	'connection'	svjazat'
za- PIS	'write down'	-#- -#	>	zapis' ⁹	'record'	zapisat'

De-adjectival (limited)

ZELON	'green'	-#- -#	>	zelen' ⁹	'verdure'	zelënyj
VIS	'high'	-#- -#	>	vys' ⁹	'height(s)'	vysokij
Z#L	'evil'	-#- -o	>	zlo	'evil'	zloj

b) Zero-suffixed compound adjectives (part of the body)

krasnoe lico	'red face'	krasn-o-lic-#-yj	'red-faced'
tolstye guby	'thick lips'	tolst-o-gub-#-yj	'thick-lipped'
bez golovy	'without a head'	bez-golov-#-yj	'headless'

c) Zero-suffixed compound nouns of agent

lovit' ryb	'catch fish'	RIB	-o- LOV	-#- -#	>
		rybolov		'fisherman'	
kolot' lëd	'stab ice'	LOD	-o- KOL	-#- -#	>
		ledokol		'ice-breaker'	
sosat' pyl'	'suck dust'	PIŁ	-o- SOS	-#- -#	>
		pylesos		'vacuum cleaner'	
voda padaet	'water falls'	VOD	-o- PAD	-#- -#	>
		vodopad		'waterfall'	
sam letit	'itself flies'	SAM	-o- LOT	-#- -#	>
		samolët		'airplane'	
tjaželo dumaet	'thinks heavily'	IAŽOL	-o- DUM	-#- -#	>
		tjaželodum		'slow-witted person'	

A zero form may be posited in Russian grammar as long as it is unique; i.e., as long as the reference of the zero is unambiguous within its category. This unambiguity gives zero the same force as the presence of an ending, suffix, etc., would have. For example, a zero-ending in feminine nouns in the ending -a is always the genitive plural, in short-form adjectives always the masculine (unambiguous grammatical references); a zero-verb is always the present tense of *byt'* 'be' (unambiguous semantic reference). Similarly, in the above examples the zero-suffix in non-compound nouns always has abstract¹⁰ meaning; in adjectives it always describes animate beings or inanimate objects¹¹ in terms of a part of the body; and in compound nouns it carries the force of an agent suffix.

1. Roots which might appear to be associated with other parts of speech in fact may be assimilated to one of the basic types; e.g., PEROD/PRED 'front, fore-', though it seems associated with the preposition *pered* and the preverb *pred-*, acts like a N root (e.g., it builds a denominative adjective *pered-n-ij* 'front'), and SVOJ 'own,' though it seems associated with the possessive pronoun *svoj*, acts like an A root (e.g., it builds a factitive verb *u-svo-i-t'* [i.e., u-SVOJ-i-t'] 'learn, make one's own').
2. Many V roots, it will be noted, build only suffixed verbs. GOVOR 'talk, say,' SMOTR 'look at' and PIS 'write,' for example, require the suffixes -i-, -e- and -a-, respectively, to make them verbs: *govor-i-t'* 'talk, say;' *smotr-e-t'* 'look at;' *pis-a-t'* 'write.' In addition, a few A roots require suffixes to make them adjectives; e.g., VIS 'high' - *vys-ok-ij* 'high;' KREP 'strong' - *krep-#k-ij* 'strong.'
3. That there should be more than one zero-suffix is no more unusual than that there is more than one -#k- suffix, more than one -stv- suffix, and so on, with distinct meanings. And -#k-, like zero, is both a N and an A suffix.
4. Many nouns of this type have acquired various specific or concrete meanings, either in certain usages or altogether. For example, v#-XOD- 'go in' - *vxod* 'entrance' (abstract noun of action or more concrete noun designating a place); pri-MER- 'measure to, try on' - *primer* 'example (specific meaning; cf. *primerka* 'trying on,' the related abstract noun of action); ST#L (root variants STOL-, SJEL-) 'spread' - *stol* 'table' (altogether concrete meaning).
5. In very rare cases the elements are reversed, with the verbal element coming first; e.g., *liz-o-bljud* 'lickspittle' (LIZ 'lick,' BLUD 'dish'), and there is at least one case in which both elements are verbal: *vert-o-lët* 'helicopter' (YORT 'turn,' LOT 'fly'). Note that we exclude from consideration such learned calques as *vod-o-rod* 'hydrogen.'
6. The close semantic association of most deverbative nouns (in zero and in other suffixes) with corresponding deverbative verbs has led some grammarians and analysts into assuming that the former are derived from the latter. But this is not necessarily true; *xod-#-#*, for example, does not have to be derived from *xod-i-t'*, but rather both words may be derived from XOD; i.e.,

XOD (V root)	-i-	(V suffix)	-t'	>	<i>xod-i-t'</i>
XOD (V root)	-#-	(N suffix)	-#	>	<i>xod-#-#</i>
7. Prefixed abstract nouns are likewise not necessarily derived from prefixed verbs, but may be derived from already prefixed roots (or prefix-root units); e.g., *pri-xod-#-#* and *pri-xod-i-t'* are both derived from a prefixed root which we may express as pri-XOD.

8. I.e., in morphophonemic transcription, STROJ-i-t'.
9. The final consonant in a number of verbal and adjectival roots occurs soft before the zero-suffix; the resulting nouns belong to the third declension.
10. An exceedingly tiny group of zero-suffixed nouns designate persons, usually of common gender, rather than abstract things. E.g.: roz#-IER 'lose' - *rasterja* 'person who constantly loses things;' za-IK 'stammer' - *zaika* 'stammerer.'
11. As in words like *odnobokij* 'having only one side; onesided, limited;' *bezzubyj* 'toothless' (literally or figuratively, as in *bezzubaja kritika* 'criticism with no teeth in it'). But note that of the two adjectives *dvulikij* and *dvuličnyj*, only the zero-suffixed *dvulikij* can have the physical sense 'two-faced,' while both words may express the figurative sense 'two-faced, insincere.'

SOME ASPECTS OF LINGUISTIC PARALLELISM AND
CHINESE VERSIFICATION

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When considering the linguistic problems of verse as against those of prose one is time and again drawn to the thoughts of Paul Valéry who had very succinctly captured the distinction between prose and poetry by declaring that:

...in the practical or abstract use of language that is specially prose, the form is not preserved, does not outlive understanding....
...poetry can be recognized by this remarkable fact, which could serve as its definition: it tends to reproduce itself in its own form, it stimulates our minds to reconstruct it as it is.

(The Art of Poetry p. 209)

The word "form" is the key to separating poetry from prose. This does not mean that prose has no form; rather it is the form in poetry that tends to reproduce itself in the listener's mind and hence brings about a stronger impression of the message content. Furthermore, this definition allows for poetry to be included in prose or even daily speech, as may be witnessed from the writings and speeches of the more rhetorically minded. It is therefore important to insist that the discussion of the linguistic problems of verse composition should not be limited to the circles of literary critics and students of poetry, but should find due attention on the part of the general linguist.

While there are many universal aspects to form in poetry, such as the recurrence of similar patterns of linguistic entries, these recurring patterns are manifested in different language and cultural areas. As Professor Jakobson has put it:

Such traditional types of canonic parallelism offer us an insight into the various forms of relationship among different aspects of language and answer the pertinent question: what kindred grammatical or phonological categories may function as equivalent within the given pattern? We can infer that such categories share a common denominator in the linguistic code of the respective speech community.¹

Many of the traditional discussions of the beauty of form in classical Chinese poetry have been centered on (1) its strict rules of prosodic design² and (2) its structure of grammatical parallelism. Very well known among these are the twenty-nine kinds of parallelism recorded by Kukai,³ which may be considered along the quantitative and qualitative scales. On the quantitative scale parallelism may be considered as obtaining:

- (1) within the line,
- (2) between opposing lines in a couplet,
- (3) between corresponding lines of adjacent couplets, and
- (4) between adjacent lines of adjacent couplets.

On the qualitative scale parallelism may be considered:

- (1) phonologically (or metrically),
- (2) lexically (or semantically),
- (3) syntactically, and even
- (4) graphically.⁴

Underlying these parameters are the two possible values of direct and antithetical (or reciprocal) parallels versus the absence of parallelism. It should be noted that while direct parallelism is concerned with the recurrence of entities from the same category, antithetical parallelism is concerned with concurrence of entities from opposing categories.⁵ This latter opposition should be distinguished from the absence of recurring and concurring oppositions. During the time when these twenty-nine kinds of parallelism were discussed and developed there arose in China a doctrine concerning what might be considered good or bad form in poetry, and in the same work by Kukai twenty-eight kinds of "defects" were also recorded in connection with the writing and the judging of good poetry. An account of these defects need not be entered into here but suffice it to say that they were very important to the subsequent emergence of the genre of Regulated Verse, which held sway on the cultural scene for quite a few succeeding centuries. Furthermore, the basic yardstick which resulted from the development of the above mentioned categories of defects and parallelisms could be summarized by two quotations from the authoritative Wen-hsing Tiao-lung:⁶

Dissimilar sounds in succession may be called 'Harmony.'

Similar sounds echoing one another may be called rhyme.

and: Of the forms of parallelism there are four kinds: verbal parallelism, which is easy, and factual parallelism, which is difficult; antithetical parallelism, which is superb, and straightforward parallelism, which is inferior. As for verbal parallelism, it is the matching of mere words; and as for factual parallelism, actual experience is dealt with. As for antithetical parallelism, here is the neat meeting place of diverse ways of thoughts; and, as for straightforward parallelism, it is but a case of different facts illustrating a single idea.

(chapter 33, Sonic Principles, and Chapter 35, Rhetorics)⁷

The best illustration is provided by the metrical structures of the above-mentioned Regulated Verse. This genre of Chinese poetry has been popular not only among the Chinese but also among people from neighboring cultural areas such as Japan and Vietnam, where it had been extensively studied and emulated with occasional modifications.

Each poem can have one to one thousand couplets; the most common employ two couplets or four couplets. Each couplet contains two lines and each line in a poem can consistently be either pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic. There are major syntactic breaks after the second syllable (as well as the fourth syllable in the case of heptasyllabic verse). The basic metrical value

We shall now turn to examine these patterns in terms of parallel oppositions.⁸

Basic to the understanding of parallel opposition is the comparison of terms in the opposition. For any comparison to be possible, the terms should be analyzable into features provided by a general theory. Thus when we say that A is similar to B, we have to be ready to describe the features of A and of B that are identical and the features that are not, and in the case of overall similarity the former must *outweigh* the latter. Similarly, when we say that A and B enter into antithetical parallelism, we have to be able to state the features that are the same in both terms, while at the same time also pointing to the features that distinguish them. In the case of antithetical parallelism the distinguishing features, by definition, *outweigh* those that are the same. In other words we can describe how to relate A to B by stating what changes we need in order to go from A to B.

The term "*outweigh*" that we have used here is meant not in a quantitative sense but in a qualitative sense. Thus, for example, two terms in opposition which differ perhaps only in one feature may be called antithetically parallel while another pair of terms in opposition which differ in more than one feature may be called similar or directly parallel. The criterion for "weighing" is culture dependent. As an example, we may choose the case of stress, where strong stress versus weak stress may be a decisive factor for outweighing in certain poetic traditions, such as in the better known genres of Western poetry, and where the opposition of stress is not an important factor in Chinese verse. For the moment, further elaboration of the properties of this weighing function must await further studies by workers in the field.

In the framework of this approach we may well ask ourselves if the repetition of identical entities does not constitute the very foundation of poetic form. If we ponder on this matter further, we will notice again and again that repetition is indeed the basic trait which underlies all kinds of poetry. This is especially clear in folk poetry, as Professor Jakobson has so admirably shown in his celebrated article on Slavic folk poetry. Hence there can be no doubt that the question we have asked ourselves must be answered in the affirmative.

For Chinese we can now consider two kinds of operations that change the basic mode of repetition which we have assumed to be universal. If we use (V) to represent the metrical composition of any line in a poem, we can define an Inversion operator ($\bar{}$), such that (\bar{V}) represents a line whose composite tones are exactly opposite to those in (V). Thus if $V = a$, then $\bar{V} = \bar{a}$, and it is easy to see that $\bar{\bar{V}} = a$ again. We can also define the Conversion operator ($\underline{}$), such that (\underline{V}) represents a line whose composite tone arrangements are related to (V) in such a way that for the last three syllables of (V):

- (a) the penultimate is changed in value (while the other two syllables remain the same).

Also (b) the remaining syllables in the metrical line undergo a reversal of their tone values. Thus, if $V = a$, then $\underline{V} = b$ and it is easy to see that $\underline{\underline{V}} = a$ again.

In the discussion so far, we have tried to show that metrics in Regulated Verse may be formalized by means of one primitive term (the arbitrarily chosen metrical line) and two operators (which are commutative). The metrical lines of the poem may then be derived by a sequence of applications of these operations on the primitive. Furthermore, for each poem in Regulated Verse, one of the following characterizations holds true:

- (I) $V \underline{V} | \bar{V} V | \bar{V} \underline{V} | \bar{V} V | \dots\dots\dots$
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 (V = any metrical line)
- (II) $\bar{V} \underline{V} | \bar{V} V | \bar{V} \underline{V} | \bar{V} V | \dots\dots\dots$

Noting the numerical sequence we have placed between the two representations of lines, we can see that whereas the lines within the couplet (e.g. 1 and 2, 3 and 4, ... etc.) are related through one operation, the adjacent lines of adjacent couplets (e.g. 2 and 3, 4 and 5, ... etc.) are related through two operations. At the same time several cycles of operations are discernable. The first is the recurrence of ($\bar{\quad}$) at intervals of one (line). The second is the recurrence of the group ($\underline{\quad}$) + ($\underline{\quad}$) at intervals of two. The third involves two identity recurrences: ($\underline{\quad}$) and the composite ($\underline{\quad}$)($\bar{\quad}$), at intervals of three. These cycles form a kind of "harmonic waves" with periodicities of individual wave lengths differing discretely and in a linear fashion. Each cycle is both in phase and out of phase with some other cycle(s). When taken together, they support and interweave with one another and form a tightly knit structure through the recursive progression of reinforcing metrical elements. These properties reinforce the effects of direct and antithetical parallelism employed in the syntactical and semantical components of poetry.

Thus, for the metrics of Regulated Verse, and in terms of their relationship through operational derivation, the lines within a couplet are bound by closer ties than those existing between the lines of adjacent couplets. It is important to note that the single operation relating the lines within a couplet is a manifestation of antithetical parallelism. On the other hand, the two operations linking the adjacent lines of adjacent couplets result in imperfect direct or duplicative parallelism, and the seemingly consistent absence of the operation that links the corresponding non-initial lines of alternate couplets (e.g. 2:6, 3:7, 4:8, ... Identity recursion) marks the most basic form of direct parallelism. It is noteworthy that there seems to be a critical distance for identical parallelism to operate effectively. In the case of Chinese Regulated Verse this critical distance seems to be an interval of four lines.

In general:

Lines within the couplets are bound by antithetical parallelism while adjacent lines of adjacent couplets are bound by direct parallelism. The principle of opposition pervades and underlies the entire poem.

We may also consider the two operations (Inversion and Conversion) as two features. From the definition of these features it follows that the (+) value is the marked value while the (-) value is the unmarked value, since no operation has been applied.

Viewing this in terms of markedness in the sense used in the Prague school, we can rephrase our generalization as:

Within the couplet, lines differ in the value assumed by the Inversion feature, whereas adjacent lines of adjacent couplets differ in the values of two features. Furthermore, the more marked member in the couplet is the leading one in non-initial couplets.

This last qualification finds a natural explanation in that a postponement of the revelation of the markedness of features in the meter of a poem engenders suspense and beauty and enhances appreciation of the poem. This may be compared to the function of the introductory segment in a musical composition (such as one in Sonata form or oral music), where tonality is readily perceived while the revelation of the rhythmic pattern, as well as the themes within the composition, is reserved for a later moment in the introductory passage. To carry the analogy a little further, the greater markedness value in the leading member of a couplet may correspond to the greater stress on the first beat of each bar in music, and in both instances this phenomenon of placing greater value on the leading member may serve as the anchor for the rhythmic pattern in the entire composition.⁹

In the preceding discussion we have been concerned with the kinds of metrical oppositions used in Regulated Verse and we have considered a poem as an ordered set of pairs or a sequence such that the metrical entities of lines in it enter pairwise into a relationship that is based on their relative positions in the poem. This relationship may be assigned a measure procedure which maps the relationship between any paired members onto a linear sequence of integers: 0, 1, 2, 3, ... etc. In the case of Chinese Regulated Verse we have shown that from two basic operators:

- 1) the Inversion Operator, I, and
- 2) the Conversion Operator, C,

we have also derived two operators:

- 3) the Composite Operator IC (or CI), which yields results that are different from any of the other three.
- 4) the Identity Operator II (or CC), which yields results as if no operator had been applied.

We have also shown that a pair of lines within a couplet is related through one operation (either I or C). For example, the members of the two possible pairs of lines in couplets, i.e. $(\bar{V} V)$ and $(\bar{V} \bar{V})$, are all related through the Inversion Operation so that we can go from one to the other by one application of the Inversion Operator. In the case of the pairs of adjacent lines of adjacent couplets, e.g. $(V \bar{V})$ and $(\bar{V} \bar{V})$, each member in a pair is related to the other through both the Inversion and the Conversion Operations. In contrast to the first example this is technically a second degree relationship. There is yet a third kind of relationship: corresponding lines in any quatrain are identical, hence they are related by the identity operation or basically no operation. This, then, would be a case of zero-degree relationship. Furthermore, our harmonic alternations

are described in terms of operations and the different components are described in terms of the degree of relationship.

The number of operators needed to characterize the underlying abstract metrical patterns suggests itself as a measure to evaluate the basic complexity of a particular poetic genre. Whereas in Chinese Regulated Verse we need four operators to account for the underlying abstract metrical patterns, in Thai five are needed.¹⁰ Hence we may say that the underlying metrical pattern of Thai poetry is inherently more complex than that of Chinese Regulated Verse.

Thus far we have been concerned with the structure of form in the underlying metrical representation of Regulated Verse. For the sake of completeness we must also examine the other existing patterns in Regulated Verse which are different from those listed earlier. These are existing forms derived from the underlying abstract patterns, and the derivation is accomplished by Realization rules.¹¹ These rules serve to "*realize*" the underlying abstract metrical patterns as phonological forms. In Chinese Regulated Verse, the rigidity of the underlying patterns seems to offer good reasons that individual positions may be realized in different ways. However, the main reason is based on a general tendency for an even distribution of opposing metrical elements as well as on a general tendency to avoid consecutive repetition of similar metrical elements. Some general examples that can be observed are as follows:

The initial couplet for one of the permissible underlying metrical patterns in pentasyllabic Regulated Verse is:

$$(1) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & - & - & / \\ - & - & / & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

However, in actual practice, besides (1) there are frequent examples of the following:

$$(2) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & (/) & - & / \\ - & - & (-) & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(3) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & - & (/) & - \\ - & - & (-) & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(4) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & - & - & / \\ (/) & - & (-) & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(5) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & (/) & - & / \\ (/) & - & (-) & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(6) \quad \begin{bmatrix} / & / & - & (/) & / \\ (/) & - & (-) & / & - \end{bmatrix}$$

(Deviations from the underlying metrical pattern (1) are enclosed in parentheses)

From these examples we can observe that:

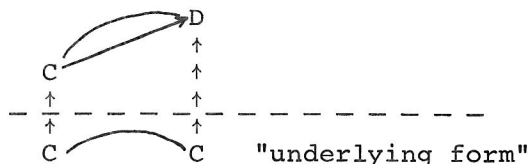
- (I) The second and the last positions in the underlying abstract metrical pattern are never violated in the realized patterns. Hence the key to generating and recognizing the underlying metrical pattern lies in the second and the last positions. There have been frequent discussions as to which positions are the crucial ones in determining the metrical pattern of a poem,¹² but I think the evidence presented here favouring the second and the last positions is rather conclusive.
- (II) In instances where the realized patterns are different from the underlying patterns rules based on the following conditions are applicable:
 - (A) The middle position in the first line may be realized differently from that in the underlying meter only when the corresponding middle position in the opposing line of the couplet is also realized differently.
 - (B) The penultimate position of the first line may be realized differently from that in the underlying meter only when the middle position of the opposing line in the couplet is also realized differently.
 - (C) The non-final odd-number positions in the second line of a couplet may be realized differently from that in the underlying meter when a neighboring odd-number position in the same line is also realized differently--with the further provision that rules based on (A) or (B) had not applied.

It is readily seen that the principle underlying these conditions is one of compensation, such that an opposition disrupted causes the compensatory disruption of another opposition resulting in the preservation of "harmony." Moreover, this also lends support to Professor Jakobson's use of the principle of Parity Conservation in his analysis of Regulated Verse. It is also clear that rules based on (A), (B), and (C) account for examples (2), (3), and (4) respectively. As for (5) and (6), they may be accounted for by removing the further restriction placed on (C), and working with (A) and (B) respectively.¹³ There is then a little disruption of the "harmony" strived for, but then there is a parallel phenomenon in elementary particle physics, in the case of the disruption of parity. The disruption of symmetry in the arrangement of the composite tones is noteworthy, but this is perhaps balanced by the fact that in obtaining such a situation, not just one but two compensating realization rules have been applied. Since I know of no poem having the pattern described by either (5) or (6) receiving critical notice for having just that, we are moved to suggest that in the quest for the most balanced form of linguistic parallelism in poetry the poet has within his competence certain options which he can exercise at will. This covers all components of poetic diction, from the structure of the underlying abstract metrical patterns to the derivation of realized patterns.

In closing, we recall that the most basic relationship in metrics is the identity relationship and that individual poetic forms employ different operations to relieve the monotony that would otherwise result from straightforward parallelism. In the

example of Regulated Verse we have seen that there are several possible relationships for any ordered pair of lines within a poem and the zero relationship in Regulated Verse is reserved for a large positional difference. On the other hand a good portion of English verse employs only zero-degree relationship, for example, iambic tetrameter, iambic pentameter, etc., are composed of repeated sequences of iambic feet.

We may observe another example, namely, music, which may be viewed in terms of operational features. In the analysis of music, we may say that two notes C and D have an interval of two semi-tones between them. We are in effect indicating the result of a conversion operation which "maps" a "repeated" C (in the underlying structure) to a D by raising it two semi-tones. This may be graphically represented as follows:



Furthermore, the pause in music may be considered as the "inversion" of a musical note of equal duration. In a way, in the analysis of music we are studying the effects of operations. It is quite obvious that music, which is mostly based on the modulation of sound and, in a connected way, rhythm, employs many more operators, whereas in poetry, "sound" is not the only medium that is utilized: we have a greater and richer medium of language which embraces syntax, phonology, morphology, and semantics. When we say that a composer is maintaining an ascending progression of thirds we are in effect saying that the composer is employing a series of operations. Each time we invoke an operation we must have a base from which an operator operates, for otherwise we cannot build up a musical analysis.

Similarly, in the case of painting, the time honored dictum that painting utilizes space in terms of geometry may also be viewed in terms of operators. A painting may be "derived" by marking (mapping) the individual coordinates of points in space (on canvas or on paper) from "blanks" to shades of colors, and these individual points (or groups of points) are related to each other by mapping relationships. The fact that "prefabricated" paintings are readily obtainable in the market as well as the principle of television tends to support this hypothesis.

Thus, if we can say that music operates with sound (or sound-frequencies) on time, and painting operates with color (or light-frequencies) on space, we may attempt to capture the same general relationship by describing poetry as operating with the components of language (including phonology, syntax, and semantics) on language. Since the use of language in communication is time-dependent, this "property" of "time-dependency" accounts for the similarities that may be observed between music and metrical structures of poetic forms. At the same time, it also separates poetic form from painting.

There is a further important common denominator among these forms of Art: each of them tends to reproduce itself in our minds after we have been exposed to it. What is crucial here is the fact that basic repetitive parallelism is common to all three. The same repetitive parallel "action" is common to the

learning process (especially in elementary schools) through which external information is stored in the mind. It seems that in poetry (music, and painting) we have a case of "internal" repetitive parallelism that has similar didactic effects.

At the end of our discussion of operators we noted that the number of necessary operators constitutes a natural measure for evaluating basic complexity. We have seen that in Chinese pentasyllable Regulated Verse the basic complexity is 4 (operators) while a few realization rules of a relatively simple nature suffice to derive all actualized patterns. If we compare this with English pentameter we find that the basic complexity is 1 (operator)--namely, the identity operator--while quite complex realization rules are necessary to account for all the actualized patterns, as shown at length by Halle and Keyser. This may well indicate that basic complexity is inversely proportional to the overall complexity of realization rules. It is this view which Professor Jakobson very likely subscribes to when he observes that:

Any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables. The stricter the distribution of the former, the greater the discernibility and effectiveness of the variations.^{14, 15}

Notes

1. See Jakobson (1966) p. 399.
2. See Jakobson (1968), Downer and Graham (1963), Liu (1962), Wang (1962), Bishop (1955) and T'sou.
3. Professor Jakobson has most kindly allowed me to read through Professor Hightower's annotated translation of these twenty-nine kinds of parallelism. For an analysis of these see T'sou.
4. For an amusing analysis see Fenollosa.
5. A detailed discussion and listing of such categories may be found in Wang (1962, Sec. 15). For a discussion in English see T'sou.
6. Written by Liu Hsieh (circa 465-522). For an annotated translation of the entire book see Shih.
7. See also Shih, Chapter 33 "Musicalness" p. 184, and Chapter 35 "Linguistic Parallelism" p. 192. For an enlightening discussion of the rationale behind these quotations see Wang (1961), and for an insightful discussion of syntactic problems in Chinese verse see Mei (1966).
8. Incidentally, the recursive property of these metrical patterns is describable in terms of Finite State machines. See T'sou pp. 63-67.
9. This observation bears out Professor Jakobson's statement:
Measure of sequences is a device which, outside of poetic function, finds no application in language. Only in poetry with its regular reiteration of equivalent units is the time of the speech flow experienced, as it is--to cite another semiotic pattern--with musical time.

See Jakobson (1960) p. 358.

10. See T'sou pp. 79-86.
11. See Halle and Keyser (1966).
12. See Downer and Graham, who chose the second and the final positions, but not on the basis of realized patterns. See also Woo, who chose the penultimate and the ultimate positions. For other discussions see Jakobson (1968) and T'sou.
13. I.e. the realization based on modified (C) will be ordered relative to rules based on (A) and (B).
14. See Jakobson (1966) p. 423.
15. I am most grateful to Rudolphus De Rijk for much kind assistance.

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This note attempts to identify several crucial issues surrounding recent proposals for a radical modification of generative grammar. In one way or another these proposals in effect challenge the central, autonomous position of syntax in the grammar. None is complete enough for decisive empirical tests; indeed, the two most interesting proposals known to this writer only outline logical alternatives to the principle line of research which was stimulated by Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1965) and which centers on the distinction between Deep and Surface Structure.

Still, enough is already known--or reasonably conjectured--about a universal theory of language for a meaningful discussion of certain logical considerations. It is characteristic of every genuinely theoretical enterprise that hypotheses and generalizations in one area impose suggestive limits or requirements in other areas. The exact scope and nature of these interlocking constraints ultimately define the logical structure of the theory. However, before the theory is understood in all its detail, it is possible to adumbrate a minimal configuration of components which is needed if the grammar is to meet obvious empirical contingencies. At the same time additional relevant facts are brought within the view of linguistics.

We might characterize the initial attention paid to semantics within the context of generative theory as being mainly a broadening of the goals of linguistics, at least as compared to the prevailing attitude among American linguists from the early 1930's to the late 1950's. However, it was not until Katz and Fodor (1963) proposed a formalism for semantic theory that semantics could begin to be considered as an integral component of formal linguistic theory. Chomsky's published work (e.g., 1957) had by this time established the clear priority of the notion of a finite formal generator (equivalently, grammar) for linguistic theory, and it was understood that the semantic component had to be aligned with the embodiment of this notion in the central syntactic component, which was formal in at least the obvious sense of the term.

The assimilation of semantics to syntax was the necessary first step in the integration of linguistic theory, and the priority of syntax was very pronounced in the two studies by Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1965) mentioned above. Despite the overwhelmingly semantic motivation for a new, deep level of syntactic representation, the semantics was conceived as a purely interpretive component (in some sense paralleling the interpretive phonological component), a notion which was probably due in large measure to a similar idea in the study of formal languages.

Katz (1966) very shortly identified the inherent philosophical inadequacies of the latter, especially in the work of Carnap. However, most of the ensuing work utilizing Deep Structure analysis does not appear to have recognized a quite natural extension to Katz' central thesis. Katz had argued that the structure and interrelations of concepts could not be explicated adequately in philosophical formulations oriented toward either 'formal language' or (more obviously) 'ordinary language', but that it did seem possible to characterize them fully in terms of

the representations in Deep Structures. He now distinguished explicitly between the philosophy of linguistics, which is a subdivision of the philosophy of science, and the philosophy of language, whose "basic premise...is that there is a strong relation between the form and content of language and the form and content of conceptualization" and whose major concern is "to explore this relation and make whatever inferences about the structure of conceptual knowledge can be made on the basis of what is known about the structure of language" (1966: 4).

Katz has here opened up considerations which go well beyond the independently compelling intralinguistic inducements provided by semantics for a deep syntax. To the extent that the deep-structure grammatical relations of a rule-based syntax are shown to support not only the semantic interpretation of the sentences of ordinary language but also to inform the very structure of conceptual knowledge, it is no longer possible to maintain the familiar 'contentive' or 'substantive' bias of conceptual knowledge and 'formal' bias of syntax. In other words, the 'integrated' view of language which Katz hints at clearly addresses itself to the abiding concern in the rationalist tradition of philosophy with what might be called the 'shape of thought'.

In practice, of course, the eventual clarification of this opaque notion had to proceed very cautiously and by gradual steps. It was (and, to some extent, still is) particularly difficult to imagine within the generative framework a satisfactory alternative to an autonomous, centrally placed syntax; after all, the primary goal remained that of a formal linguistic theory--in some reasonably familiar sense of 'formal'. Katz' excursion into philosophy had served to remind linguists about logic but could not by itself convince them that the necessary 'integration' would actually be between linguistics and a major area of modern philosophical research.

It is important to recall here the two themes which stand out in all of Roman Jakobson's teaching: i.e., 'grammatical meaning' and 'context-sensitivity'. What is original about them is the insistence that together they touch on the most fundamental problem in linguistic theory--especially as opposed, in his view, to what had been the principle concerns in the study of formal languages. For a long time it was apparently impossible to relate these themes in any significant way to the work being done in generative grammar. In his work on what he calls the distinctive features of case (1958), Jakobson analyzes complex relational notions (grammatical meanings) which go far beyond Subject-of and Object-of. But his analysis is not obviously generative, and the relations are not defined on anything like the usual syntactic Deep Structures (that is, category-oriented phrase markers). On the other hand, this is probably not an oversight. Katz' "strong relation between the form and content of language and the form and content of conceptualization" will remain quite mysterious until 'creativity' of conceptualization is somehow matched in the 'creativity' of natural language. Jakobson's reluctance on the matter of autonomous syntax, which generates the structures on which relations are secondarily defined, can be interpreted as a refusal to separate semantics and syntax and thereby impose a heavy categorial commitment on syntax. To do so would obscure the basic relational phenomena implied in his two themes. The potential significance of Jakobson's contribution to the notion of markedness, whether in pho-

nology or syntax (cf. Lakoff, 1965: Appendix C), is that it can formalize relational properties to express the fact that the formal and substantive dimensions are simultaneous complementary projections of a single conceptual structure.

If we follow up Lakoff's line of thought (1968), we note that what was earlier viewed merely as an alignment of semantics with the formal nature of the syntactic component perhaps now should be seen as just the first step toward a generative semantics--an idea which has been raised explicitly (but still very casually) only recently, although the need for some sort of Concept Generator was discovered somewhat earlier (cf. Bever and Ross, 1965 (?), who give extensive credit to Lakoff). This shift of general focus is clearly desirable now. But the specific immediate task is to avert a very likely misunderstanding of what generative semantics means--especially by those who have not followed the slow but quite inevitable course of its emergence, which is unfortunately only sketchily traced above. The fact that the syntax is not autonomous does not entail that the logical priority is simply reversed, with the syntax being somehow interpretive. This use of 'interpretation' is almost completely meaningless, for the rules which would be required to map semantic representations onto syntactic ones would be quite unmotivated. One of the main reasons for Deep Structure has always been to analyze, explain and generalize (but not disregard) the presumably non-accidental congruence of syntactic (formal) and semantic (contentive) well-formedness in the small set of 'axiom-like' (or 'kernel') sentences, functions of which, in more traditional logical machinery, constitute the input to the (semantic) interpretive component.

Basically, neither 'precedes' the other. What does take logical precedence would be covered, rather, by something more like Katz' philosophy of language (although theory of form or formal conceptual knowledge might be preferable, since the sharp distinctions between the various philosophies of science are probably not reproduced here). Linguistics--which would be only one of the disciplines covered--would be provided with an explanation of the formal correspondence or complementarity of the syntactic and semantic representations necessary for the description of natural languages.

I am making a slightly more specific claim about the nature of underlying syntactic representation than Lakoff (1968) does. Lakoff points out that the consequences for transformational grammar of no longer defining semantic anomaly in terms of semantic projection rules of the type devised by Katz and Fodor (1963) are too far-reaching to be acceptable, given present evidence. Short of that, underlying syntactic representation must be sufficiently abstract to allow appropriate generalizations of selectional restrictions affecting both members of a paraphrase pair which are lexically and categorially not identical. However, building on Jakobson's work, we can conjecture additionally that underlying syntactic representation probably has to mirror in some fashion the choice and arrangement of semantic markers (Human, Animate, etc. and their 'demand' counterparts) which are involved in selectional restrictions. This requires going beyond the analysis and elimination of such obviously premature surface categories as Chomsky's Instrumental Adverb (1965; cf. Lakoff, 1968, for discussion). For example, a frame-and-category cast of syntactic representation necessarily overshadows a more relational account of the category NP.

There is a growing body of evidence which supports limited immediate speculation along the indicated lines. Wall (1967) suggests that the object of a transitive verb in English apparently may never be marked 'higher' on the feature-scale Human > Animate > Physical Object > Non-physical Object than the subject of that verb. If we treated this candidate-universal principally as a semantic one, we would be ignoring an opportunity to favor the genuinely relational representation of the subjects and objects in such frames instead of their categorial implementation. Although still very remote, the interesting prospect that emerges from Wall's evidence is that it might be possible to assign appropriate relational interpretations in a fairly direct and precise manner to the so-called subjects and objects of transitive verbs. In some instances these interpretations might be similar to traditional ones such as Agent, Patient, etc. Assuming that the implicational order of the feature-scale is not just a convenient semantic redundancy, its relevance to direct relational interpretations of syntactic representations might be that there is a strong connection between the depth and kind of syntactic complexity and the elaboration and deployment of the components which are necessary to complete the concept of, say an 'event'.

For example, it might be a universal fact that every 'event' must be assigned some sort of 'dynamic' component which would act as the formative principle of the 'event'. On one level, such might be the 'spirits' which are said to permeate the environment of primitives and to underlie changes both in inanimate and animate entities. In the case where the dynamic component is external to the patient, it would automatically have to be interpreted, not as an intrinsic dynamism, but as the ultimate and absolute 'initiator' of the 'event'. Surely, the latter is part of what it means for a feature to be 'higher' on the scale than some other feature and would explain in part why the 'subject slot' is often interpreted as an animate agent.

Notice the suggestion in the last paragraph that the feature scale is somehow variable. The most expanded version yields the array of 'foci' shown above. But if semantics is to participate centrally in the generative specification of sentences, there should be versions of varying 'density' or degree of expansion, and each set of 'foci' would require slightly different designations. In this way the relational aspects of semantics, and not just the discrete semantic components, could be represented. This conjecture is similar to Jakobson's basic view of phonology, which is partly obscured by his narrow version of the principle of feature-binarity (cf. Postal, 1968: 109ff.). In completely informal terms, we imagine a universal conceptual 'space' which can be structured (or 'unpacked') to varying degrees, but only along predetermined lines. This last property would be expressed in the appropriate marking conventions of linguistic theory.

The discussion above is not an argument that the Jakobsonian framework can by itself provide a solution to the problem of generative semantics. I wish merely to suggest that, while Katz provides some sense of the scope of the task and while Laloff and a few associates have gone a long way toward readying the form of generative syntax for a more thorough-going integration of semantics, it is Jakobson's preoccupation with the profound affiliations between syntax and semantics--in short, with the question of how form and content are related to each other--that will help us to keep the basic goal in mind.

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